

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH 1829.

- Art. I. *The History of Rome*, by G. B. Niebuhr. Translated by Julius Charles Hare, M.A. and Connop Thirlwall, M.A., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. The first Volume. 8vo. pp. 572. Price 15s. Cambridge, 1828.
2. *The Roman History*, by G. B. Niebuhr. Translated from the German by F. A. Walter, Esq. F.R.S.L. In two Vols. 8vo. pp. 1070. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1827.

WE confess, at once and without reluctance, that we feel considerable embarrassment in dealing with the work before us. The difficulty does not lie in forming a general estimate. We could state in a very few sentences, our reasons for approbation or rejection, and accompany them with such examples or illustrations as should set our views in a clear, if not a satisfactory light. But we are bewildered by the multitude and complication of the details. Analysis is out of the question; and equally so is that minute and extensive investigation which alone could enable us to meet Mr. Niebuhr on his own ground, and to bring his multifarious and frequently whimsical hypotheses to an adequate and decisive test. He is an unsparing sceptic. He sweeps away, with equal *nonchalance*, the Mosaic genealogies and the story of the Roman kings; while the Scripture history of the origination of mankind, pairs off with Numa and the nymph Egeria; alike the theme of an idle legend, the burden of an old song, the counterpart of the Round Table or the Niebelungen. So far as the Bible is concerned, he does not give himself the trouble of assigning reasons for his unbelief; and it will, of course, be quite unnecessary for us to do battle with the sneers and peremptory self-complacency even of Mr. Niebuhr. We have no concern with mere infidelity, but to lament it: it is only when it puts on the armour of argument, that we are bound to accept its challenge. And when we are super-

ciliously told of the 'fallacy', which obtains such general acceptance,—'that tribes of a common stock must have sprung genealogically by ever-widening ramifications from a single root,'—we are not Quixotic enough to snatch up our lance and run a fierce tilt against a shadowy windmill in encountering Mr. N.'s bare assertion. Neither does the lofty intimation, that they who do not recognize a plurality of races, 'but ascend to a single pair of ancestors, betray that they have no idea of languages and their modifications, unless they cling to the miracle of a confusion of tongues; a miracle which may suffice with respect to such races as present no striking physical difference';—awaken any other emotion in our minds, than contempt for the wretched coxcombry that can deal with such questions in such a way. To Mr. Niebuhr's extensive learning, we give all deference; to his acuteness and activity of mind, we bear respectful testimony; but, in his mental development, the organ of ratiocination must, we fear, be either absent or strangely defective. And hence arises, we think, the great flaw of his work from beginning to end. Of ingenious conjectures, there is a superabundance; of prompt and widely ranging reference, there is an inexhaustible variety; and there is displayed a faculty of ready and specious combination, which, if submitting itself to strictly scientific and argumentative processes, would be invaluable. But all this is so mingled up with rashness and arrogance,—so largely alloyed with a spirit of speculation, tenacious of its views, and without the slightest misgiving as to the possibility of error in its calculations,—as to lessen very materially our confidence in his authority. We disclaim the affectation of pronouncing loftily and *ex cathedra*, on a man of Niebuhr's eminence: but neither can we consent to surrender, without equivalent, and in tame subserviency to high pretension and *tranchant* phrase, the foundations of history and the landmarks of human genealogy. To evidence, to argument, we will concede every thing; to airs of infallibility, nothing.

Our readers are aware that the early history of Rome has been made the subject of severe investigation, and that the ablest scholars have felt it necessary to reject, not merely the dress and ornaments in which the Roman annalists have presented it, but more or less of the very substance of the traditions which were once welcomed with implicit credence. There are discrepancies and contradictions, as well as obvious fallacies, which it were absolute waste of time to attempt to defend, and which it is the wisest, as well as the shortest course, to give up at once. Still, the great outlines of Roman story have been held sacred; they have been considered as beyond the reach of cavil, and as supported by documents and monuments that left scepticism without a plea. All this, however, vanishes

before the critical besom of Mr. Niebuhr. He brushes away without mercy the details and indications of all primary history, and resolves the received notions of the origin of nations into baseless inventions and mythic legends. Hercules is as fabulous a being as Tom Thumb, nor is Romulus a more substantial personage than Amadis de Gaul. But he is considerate enough to supply us with a substitute. He has exercised consummate learning and dexterity in the elicitation and collocation of hints, suggestions, probabilities, aided by facts and intimations lying scattered far and wide, in odd hiding-places and dark corners; and from these, he has constructed a history of Rome after his own fashion, plausible and coherent, but, like all systems that rest upon remote inductions, liable to question in the statement of elementary facts, and as to the correctness of their adaptation to the superstructure. Now, without exhibiting undue tenacity in defence of the *letter* of old Roman history, we must say, that we do not feel quite prepared for the overwhelming demolition that must result, if the following representations be admitted.

‘The poems out of which what we call the history of the Roman kings was resolved into a prose narrative, were of great extent; consisting partly of lays united into a uniform whole, partly of such as were detached and without any necessary connexion. The history of Romulus is an epopee by itself; on Numa, there can only have been short lays. Tullus, the story of the Horatii, and of the destruction of Alba, form an epic whole, like the poem on Romulus; indeed here Livy has preserved a fragment of the poem entire, in the lyrical numbers of the old Roman verse. On the other hand, what is related of Ancus has not a touch of poetical colouring. But afterward with L. Tarquinius Priscus begins a great poem, which ends with the battle of Regillus; and this lay of the Tarquins even in its prose shape is still inexpressibly poetical, nor is it less unlike real history. The arrival of Tarquinius the Lucumo, at Rome; his deeds and victories; his death; then the marvellous story of Servius; Tullia’s impious nuptials; the murder of the just king; the whole story of the last Tarquinius; the warning presages of his fall; Lucretia; the feint of Brutus; his death; the war of Porsenna; in fine, the truly Homeric battle of Regillus; all this forms an epopee, which in depth and brilliance of imagination leaves every thing produced by Romans in later times far behind it. Knowing nothing of the unity which characterizes the most perfect of Greek poems, it divides itself into sections, answering to the *adventures* in the lay of the Niebelungen: and should any one ever have the boldness to think of restoring it in a poetical form, he would commit a great mistake in selecting any other than that of this noble work.’

(Hare and Thirlwall.)

Such is the very unceremonious manner in which Mr. Niebuhr disposes of the first, or fabulous, period of Roman history. He is somewhat more courteous and concessory to the second.

With Tullus Hostilius begins a new *Sæculum*, and a narrative, resting on historical grounds, of a nature altogether different from that of the preceding. Intermediate between the times of absolute fiction which bear an irrational relation to history, and the genuine historic age, we find amongst all nations, a compound which, if we would designate its nature by a name, we may call the Mythico-Historic. This has no defined limits, but extends itself even to where contemporary history begins, and is the more strongly marked, in proportion to the richness of the early traditions, and the paucity of instances in which moderns have drily filled up the vacuity of ancient history, from monuments and records, neglecting the historical songs. Hence it is found in the history of the middle ages, in the North and in Spain; while, on the contrary, that of several nations of the rest of Europe has scarcely preserved a trace of it, during that period. Among the Greeks, the Persian war still retains the character of a bold epic fiction; and in still earlier times, almost every thing lively or attractive in that history is Poesy. In the Roman history, Fiction, strictly speaking, does not descend much lower, though it re-appears from time to time, and even until the end of the fourth century; it is injured by studied falsification, until the wars of Pyrrhus, when foreigners, at least, began to write it contemporaneously. This is positive injury; poetic narrative is something different from, but better than, genuine history; upon whose soil we merely rediscover what fatigues or grieves us in real life. The relation between this poetical history and mythology is this:—that the former is evidently and necessarily based on historical foundation, and its materials are, for the most part, borrowed from history, as it exists in free narrative; but the latter is drawn from religion and popular fables, and makes no pretensions to be a possible history of the ordinary world; although, so far as it treats of human affairs, it can have no other theatre. To the latter, for instance, belong Hercules, Romulus, and Siegfried; to the former, Aristomenes, Brutus, and the Cid.' (*Walter.*)

With some abatement, and extending to the first period the guarded application of the principles which are here connected exclusively with the second, there would be little in this theory liable to serious objection; but, in its present shape, it assumes so much of the aspect of mere hypothesis, and leads to consequences so injurious and inconvenient, that we feel considerable hesitation on the subject. The question appears to us, as yet, only opened; ably, indeed, but not unanswerably; and it is possible, that further discussion may lead to important and satisfactory results. We learn from an interesting, although somewhat too eulogistic article, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, that the system has been severely scrutinized by two distinguished German scholars, Wachsmuth and A. W. Schlegel. The former of these challenges the entire scheme: the latter objects only to some of its modifications. Yet, of these opponents, Mr. Niebuhr has not deigned to take the slightest notice: he holds on his

course in undisturbed complacency, and seems to feel it altogether *infra dig.* to admit the possibility that he should be convicted of error by any one but himself.

The history of Italy is strange and impressive. Great and potent nations appear and disappear. In the midst of changes and convulsions, a small and insignificant state rears its head, struggling first for existence, then for extension, finally for boundless dominion. Notwithstanding the defect in the original constitution, which, by allowing of two unequal orders in the commonwealth, entailed a long succession of internal divisions and commotions, such was the excellence of the Roman institutions, and such the steady bent on aggrandisement which marked the policy of Rome, that, aided by the admirable regulation of her unrivalled infantry, she achieved, with comparatively few casualties, the conquest of the Latin and Etruscan states; by their aid, that of the rest of Italy; and, at the head of the Italian legions, that of the immense circuit of the Empire. Mr. Niebuhr, in the following paragraph, touches on one of the sources of her superiority.

‘The Sabines and Samnites lived in open villages: very few towns were fortified. The Samnite nation consisted of independent districts, without any centre of union, and connected only by occasional assemblies, and a temporary unity, like all the free *Peoples* of antiquity, and frequently separated by dissensions, in seasons of emergency. But, in war, the magistracy of the allies elected a commander-in-chief, whose Sabelline official title, *EMBRATUR*, was introduced into the Latin language, signifying the highest military officer. We find it on the Samnite coins of the social war, applied to the great C. Papius Mutilus. Livy calls the Samnite commander, *IMPERATOR*, as he does the Latin, *DICTATOR*. Strabo says that the Lucanians elected a King in time of war. This was the choosing of an Emperor. Their colonies were new nations, quite independent of the mother-country; and became, not only foreigners, but frequently her bitter enemies. Hence the numerical superiority of these nations did not afford them corresponding power against Rome; and their victories were neither productive of those means of securing possessions already gained, or of acquiring new, which Rome enjoyed in her system of colonization and citizenship. Thus did a single city become the mistress of such powerful nations. No people was ever composed of such dissimilar ingredients as this mighty race. The Sabelli, frugal, austere, and moral; the Campanians, voluptuous, effeminate, and immodest; the Samnites and Peligni, fond of war, and, in defence of liberty, determined even to death; the Picenti, cowardly and weak; the Sabines, pious and just; the Lucanians, uncivilized, mischievous, and rapacious.’ (*Walter.*)

Rome, on the hypothesis of Mr. Niebuhr, in its ‘high and palmy state,’ was a combination of several small cities originally crowning the heights subsequently comprised within the circuit of its walls. The nucleus of this *congeries*, the primary *Roma*,

occupied the crest of the Palatine hill. On another summit stood Remuria. The Agonian mount, afterwards called the Quirinal, was crowned by a Sabine town called Quirium, whence the name Quirites. Of the close alliance between Roma and Quirium, the temple of Janus was an evidence: it arched over the road leading from the Quirinal to the Palatine, with a double gate, open in time of war for the free passage of mutual aid; shut in time of peace, either as a symbol of demarcation, or as a restraint on unlicensed intercourse. The bond became stronger and more intimate by degrees, until the two states became one, the *Populus Romanus Quirites*. It may have been thus with Rome in its beginnings; but Mr. Niebuhr has not, as we think, succeeded either in proving that these *were* the actual circumstances of her origin, or in offering a more plausible theory than that which, stripped of the marvellous and purged of its contradictions, has been hitherto received.

The subsequent stages of Roman history have derived more efficient illustration from the researches of Mr. Niebuhr; and, although he has, even here, not so much raised the structure, as given the design and prepared the ground, yet, he will be found to have poured a flood of light on many a dark and doubtful inquiry connected with the institutions and annals of the Eternal City. We could scarcely name a subject within the range of his researches, that has not derived, either directly or indirectly, decided advantage from his investigations. At the same time, our readers will understand, that these volumes are the very opposite of light reading. Mr. Niebuhr has not even aimed at continuous narrative; nor, if he had, would he have been successful in the effort to 'adorn a tale.' He is to be studied, not skimmed. But henceforward, it will be an idle pretension, in those who are unacquainted with his principles, to affect a safe and practical knowledge of Roman story.

Mr. Niebuhr seems to have formed to himself a very singular notion respecting the location of kindred races. As far as we can understand him, he is of opinion, that similarity of feature, colour, manners, language, does not necessarily imply a common origin; and he brings in, rather whimsically, the analogy of the vegetable and animal tribes, as if it followed, that, because cats and cabbages affect certain latitudes, the same varieties of men must be, in like manner, the growth of particular regions and temperatures, independently of any connexion with a primary stock.

'If', he says, 'we allow that the origin of the human race lies beyond our comprehension, which is only adequate to its development and progress,—if we confine ourselves to retracing, step by step, the range of history,—we shall frequently discover nations of one stock, i. e. identical in language and characteristics, dwelling upon opposite

coasts of similar formation, without necessarily inferring that one of these countries, so separated, was the original seat from whence emigration took place to the other. Thus we find amongst the people of Italy, on the western coast of the Adriatic, the same Illyrians as those who inhabit the opposite shores: thus, also, we meet with Iberians in the islands of the Mediterranean, and Celts in Gaul and Britain. The same analogy pervades the geography of the animal and vegetable kingdom, whose extensive regions are separated by mountains, and include narrow seas.

‘ Besides those nations, which are identified in language and characteristics, some with stronger and others with fainter shades, there are others of unquestionable affinity, and yet so different, that, in order to explain the phenomenon, we must either admit the common opinion of an intermixture, or, where their languages bear the stamp of a pure development, an inexplicable and spontaneous deterioration, even though experience shews a regular preservation of the analogy, under all the influences of time. Thus, there is a striking affinity, both in structure and etymology, between the Persian language and the Sclavonian, and in some points also the German. Thus, also, we recognize a fundamental affinity between the Latin and the Greek languages, much more than a mere intermixture, which only introduces or alters words. Nevertheless, in the elements of the former, in which that affinity clearly existed before the admixture with foreign nations had entirely altered its structure, there remains an equally decisive and radical difference. But this is not more remarkable than the resemblances and diversities which are generally observable in nature, wherein different species and several apparent varieties continue without alteration, and evidently belong to the same genus.’ (*Walter.*)

It appears strange, that it should not have occurred to Mr. Niebuhr, that, even on the supposition of the tenability of his theory, it would amount to nothing in the way of evidence or illustration; since, the faculty of adaptation being common to men, monkeys, and potatoes, they may, each and all, be found very comfortably settled in regions widely differing from their original *habitat*. The publication before alluded to, has demolished this hypothesis by an excellent *ad absurdum*. ‘ Suppose’, it is observed, ‘ in the course of time all records should be lost; ‘ suppose, in future ages, the history of the last ten centuries ‘ should be sunk into as complete oblivion as that of the antehistoric period of Europe now is; and that, on the revival of ‘ literature, another Niebuhr should direct his views to those ‘ remote and hidden ages. Finding then, on the Feroes and ‘ Iceland, a race in language and character strongly resembling that of Scandinavia; meeting in North America nations ‘ identical with the English; in South America, with the Spaniards and Portuguese; and, stranger still, in Australasia, nations, in language, laws, religion, features, and everything, corresponding to the inhabitants of the British Isles, what ana-

‘logies of sheep and cows, of wheat and trefoil, of turnips and carrots, would he not point out, and how might not the world be edified by profound disquisitions on the effect of clime and temperature on the mental and corporal development of the various stems of mankind!’

The titles which we have cited at the head of the present article, may require a little explanation, and this will be best given by a reference to the history of the work. It is now some fifteen or sixteen years since Mr. Niebuhr commenced its publication, and carried it on to the extent of two volumes. These have been translated by Mr. Walter in a creditable style. Further investigations, and the discovery since made by Maias, of new portions of the Latin classics, have led to different views; and of the new edition, now in course of publication, Messrs. Hare and Thirlwall have undertaken the translation. Thus far, they have executed their task with distinguished ability, though we can trace, here and there, some of the peculiarities of the Translator of Sintram. The difference between the two works is by no means trivial, and we cannot better describe it, than in the Author's own words.

‘The work which I here lay before the public is, as the first glance will show, an entirely new one, in which scarcely a few fragments of the former have been incorporated. It would have been incomparably easier to have preserved the groundwork of the first edition; I resolved on the far more difficult task as the most expedient, which would give unity and harmony to the whole. That whole, consisting of this and the next two volumes, is the work of a man who has reached his maturity; whose powers may decline, but whose convictions are thoroughly settled, whose views cannot change: and so I wish that the former edition may be regarded as a youthful work. Our friends are often more tender-hearted towards us than we are ourselves; and, perhaps, one or two may regret some things that have been destroyed and cast away: more than once it was with a lingering hand that I overthrew the old edifice; but what was built on suppositions which had been found to be wrong, could not be permitted to remain; nor was it allowable to preserve it by slipping some other prop under it, so as to efface the appearance of the original foundation. The continuation down to the term which I have now set before me, I may, if it please God, and his blessing abide with me, confidently promise; although the progress may be but slow. It is the work of my life; which is to preserve my name not unworthy of my father's: I will not lazily abandon it.’ (*Hare and Thirlwall*.)

We cannot, however, think that the former edition is superseded by the latter. It comes down considerably lower; and the ill-health of the Author is understood to make it doubtful whether he will be able to carry on his new undertaking.

Besides, it is not clear that the alterations are always improvements; and we could instance some of these, that have very much the appearance of deteriorating change.

'We must rest satisfied,' are the words of Mr. Niebuhr, in the second chapter of his first edition, 'with the impossibility of determining, with certainty, what nation were the Pelasgi? How distinguished from the Greeks? Whether those who are mentioned as in different places, belonged to one stock? Every notice of this people, in the brightest as well as in the darkest periods of history, remains to us an enigma; the satisfactory solution of which, will be the most absolutely despaired of by him who has most studiously laboured at its investigation.' (*Waller*.)

In the second edition, however, these enigmatical *Pelasgi* perform a most important part.

'As there are creatures that seem to have outlived a period of other forms, which look like strangers left to languish in an altered world, so the Pelasgians, in that part of history to which our monuments and traditions reach, appear only in a state of ruin and decay: and this is why they are so mysterious. The old traditions spoke of them as a race pursued by the heavenly powers with never-ending calamities; and the traces of their abode in very widely distant regions occasioned the fancy, that they had roamed about from land to land to escape from these afflictions. And whereas the best acquisition of nations as well as individuals is the memory they leave, no people has been so hardly dealt with in this respect as the Pelasgians. Even Ephorus, early as he lived, seems to have refused them the character of a nation, and to have imagined that the name was assumed by a band of marauders, who issued from Arcadia and received accessions from a variety of tribes: whereas he that views the fable of their wanderings in a different light, and searches for traces of their diffusion, will on the contrary recognize that they are one of the very greatest nations of ancient Europe; who in the course of their migrations spread almost as widely as the Celts.' (*Hare and Thirlwall*.)

Widely indeed! They were Peloponnesians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Attics, Ionians, Epirots, Chalcidians, Tyrrhenians, and—not to mention a long and involved catalogue of tribes and kindreds,—*Romans*. He sums up impressively, but with strange positiveness.

'I am standing at the goal, whence a survey may be taken of the circle in which I have found and shewn Pelasgian tribes, not as vagrant gipsies, but as firmly settled, powerful, respectable nations, in a period for the greater part anterior to our Grecian history. It is not as a hypothesis, but with full historical conviction that I say, there was a time when the Pelasgians, then perhaps the most widely spread people in Europe, dwelt from the Po and the Arno to the Rhyndacus; only the continuous line of their possessions was broken in Thrace, so that the northern islands of the *Ægean* kept up the chain between the

Tyrrhenians of Asia and the Pelasgian Argos. But when the genealogists and Hellanici wrote, all that remained of this immense race were solitary, detached, widely scattered relics; such as those of the Celtic tribes in Spain; like mountain peaks towering as islands where floods have turned the lowlands into a sea. Like those Celts, they were conceived to be, not fragments of a great people, but settlements formed by colonization or emigration, after the manner of the Grecian, which lay equally scattered.' (*Hare and Thirlwall*.)

It is obvious, from this and other passages, that Mr. Niebuhr's theory of nations corresponds to M. Cuvier's system of the world. As the latter supposes that there have been successive revolutions, destroying and reproducing the due and habitable arrangement of the earth's materials; the former seems to believe in the existence of whole races of men, failing and leaving mere relics and fragments behind them;—flourishing for a while, and filling the whole scene with their numbers and their exploits; then driven off by some fearful catastrophe, scattered or exterminated, and leaving the stage vacant to some fresh congregation of human beings, fated to undergo the same irreversible doom, to meet the same vicissitudes, to exult and bustle for a season, and then to disappear. These are magnificent dreams; but they are nothing more. The aspect of the globe, the probabilities of things, tell a simpler and more rational tale. With Scripture, they tell us of the one great family of man, dispersed over the face of the earth, and modified by climate and by circumstances;—of the one great convulsion which has given to the just and beautiful adaptation of our world, the superficial semblance of confusion and disarray.

We may have occasion, at no distant period, to make use of the valuable geographical details with which Mr. Niebuhr has enriched his first volume.

Art. II. 1. *Objections to the Doctrine of Israel's Future Restoration to Palestine, National Pre-eminence, &c.* In Twelve Letters to a Friend. With an Appendix. 12mo. pp. 178. Price 3s. 6d. London, 1828.

2. *A Defence of the Scriptural Doctrine concerning the Second Advent of Christ from the erroneous Representations of Modern Millenarians.* By William Hamilton, D.D., Minister of Strathblane. 12mo. pp. xvi, 332. Price 5s. London, 1828.

3. *A Defence of the Students of Prophecy, in Answer to the Attack of the Rev. Dr. Hamilton of Strathblane.* 8vo. pp. 128. Price 3s. London, 1828.

4. *A Summary View of the Scriptural Argument for the Second and Glorious Advent of the Messiah before the Millennium*: specially addressed to the Ministers of Christ. By William Cuninghame, Esq. of Lainshaw, County of Ayr. 8vo. pp. 28. Glasgow, 1828.

ALTHOUGH the doctrine of the Millenarians respecting the personal reign of our Lord at Jerusalem, is not inseparably connected with that of the national restoration of the Jews to Palestine, yet, the latter notion is the parent of the former; and it is the strong-hold of those who are looking for a political kingdom in which the Saints are to share the reign of Christ. The opinion that the Jews are to be restored to their ancient country, may be true and scriptural, while the notions built upon it respecting our Lord's personal reign may nevertheless be fallacious. The converse, however, will not hold good. If the expectations of the Jews are erroneous, the views of the Millenarians must be delusive. And this close connection between the two articles of the modern prophetic creed, forms, we must confess, in our judgement, a strong presumption against the correctness of that which is by far the more plausible and rational doctrine of the two. Such a presumption will have no force against positive Scriptural evidence. Indeed, all errors grow out of truths, and, like parasitical weeds, derive their support from that which they conceal and tend to destroy. But they have nothing in common in their nature; and it is therefore incumbent upon the advocate of truth to shew, that the error which has become blended with any true doctrine, has no real or original connexion with it.

Whether the doctrine of Israel's political restoration be true or false, every right-minded and pious man must regard as a very interesting inquiry, and one which is by no means determined. The language of Scripture upon this point, with whatever confidence it may be appealed to as favouring the doctrine, is by no means of self-evident import. Expositors of unquestionable learning and integrity have widely differed in their interpretation of the passages in question. And this diversity, involving as it does, not only a different view of the sense of particular texts, but of the proper rules for interpreting Scripture, gives additional importance to the original inquiry. Our being right or wrong in our conclusions respecting the destiny of the Jewish people, must be of far less consequence than our adopting an erroneous mode of ascertaining and applying the evidence deducible from the inspired oracles.

The anonymous Author of the first publication on our list, has, we therefore think, deserved well of the Christian public, by bringing distinctly before their view the objections which lie against the now popular doctrine; and his volume will claim an attentive perusal, whatever may be thought of the force of

his reasonings or the validity of his conclusions. In some of his positions, we must say at once, we can by no means agree with him. For instance, his *sixth* reason (we must be excused for disregarding the order) for rejecting the doctrine, is, that it is encumbered with difficulties which are obviated by a more simple interpretation. Now this is in itself a dangerous principle of interpretation, and, as applied by the Rationalists to the supposed doctrinal difficulties to be found in the New Testament, has led to all sorts of pernicious tampering with the sacred text. Nor does the Author's explanation render his reason at all satisfactory. "How can these things be?"—is no argument against the truth of a doctrine, unless the objector can shew that it involves a palpable impossibility or contradiction. But we must let the Writer speak for himself.

'The difficulties with which the doctrine of a literal restoration is encumbered, are of three kinds. *First*, Arising from the magnitude of the events necessarily implied. *Secondly*, Arising from the ordinary course of things. *Thirdly*, Arising from the apparent contradiction to Scripture testimony which the doctrine involves.

'First, the magnitude of the events necessarily implied. If the Jews are to be restored to Palestine, it must be by the operation of moral principles on themselves or on other nations; by the silent workings of Providence in their behalf; by the force of arms; or by the intervention of miraculous power: all events most stupendous, whether regarded singly, or in any supposable combination. Look at their condition scattered among the nations; it is highly improbable that their restoration will be effected by any of these means.' pp. 114, 115.

Now so far from improbable does their restoration appear, in itself considered,—so far does the magnitude of the event fall short of the adequacy of either of these supposed causes taken singly, much more if operating in combination,—that, to us, the matter for wonder seems to be, that their political restoration has not long ago become the record of history. Excluding from our minds the idea of an over-ruling Divine purpose, which can alone adequately account for all the facts in their history,—it does strike us as most extraordinary, that, amid all the revolutions of the East, this nation should never have produced a new Maccabæus to raise the standard of Jewish independence. During the decline and dismemberment of the Roman empire, many states and dynasties rose and fell; and Syria, which was so speedily wrested from the Romans by the hordes of Arabia, banded together under the influence of fanaticism, might, one would think, have been not less easily recovered by a nation ever animated by an unquenchable attachment to the land of their fathers. The wars of the Jews, their desperate struggle against Rome in the zenith of her power, sufficiently refutes the idea that they are a people incapable of military enterprise.

Nor have they been wholly unconcerned in the political transactions of modern history. In the annals of the Arabian monarchy prior to the birth of Mohammed, we find a Jewish king, if not a Jewish dynasty; and in Zu Nowauss, the Christians of Yemen found a ruthless persecutor. Mohammed courted at first the support of the Arabian Jews; and had not their obstinate opposition converted his friendship into implacable hatred, he might have rewarded their attachment with the gift of Palestine. But the feud between Ishmael and Isaac was still in operation, and prevented an alliance which would have given a new character to the Mohammedan imposture. In Africa, the Jews may boast of having retained some portion of dominion; a considerable mixture of Jewish blood, too, runs in the veins of the Moors; and the Saracen conqueror of Spain was indebted to the aid of the persecuted Jews for his most important acquisitions. When the holy land subsequently became the theatre of 'the world's debate', it might have been expected, that the Jews, the rightful owners of the sacred territory, would have availed themselves of the contest, to obtain some advantages as the price of their alliance. Their numbers and mercantile wealth must have rescued them at least from contempt at such a juncture, had they not lain under the proscription, with both parties, of an implacable hatred which was cherished as a virtue of expiatory efficacy. On the shores of the Mediterranean, free states have arisen, the creation of commercial wealth; and yet, the Jews, who have almost monopolized at times the commerce of the Mediterranean, and who, at Barcelona, Marseilles, Leghorn, Tunis, and Bengazi, have formed so considerable a portion of the community,—have never assumed the shape of a political body. We are aware that the same remark will apply to the Greeks up to a recent period, and, though not with equal force, to the Armenians, who, like the modern Jews, a nation of traders, and one scarcely less ubiquitous, every where preserving their distinct customs, retain, like them, in all their wanderings, a strong national feeling and a passionate attachment to the land of their fathers,—a country, too, which has also been the theatre of perpetual wars. In point of numbers, however, as well as resources, the Jews form a much more considerable body than either the Armenians or the Greeks; and they have at all times been ready to seize the first opportunity of returning to Palestine, where, in fact, great numbers have preferred to live, though under the Turkish yoke, and whither the prospect of meeting with efficient protection would attract them from all quarters. The political restoration of the Greeks would have seemed, twenty years ago, an event not less unlikely than that of Israel now. It is now all but consummated; and wherein consists the natural improbability that, as the Turkish power declines, some

Mohammed Ali, or some Capo d'Istrias, himself a Jew, or favouring that nation from political motives,—may erect a new republic or monarchy on the site of fallen Jerusalem?

That such an event has *not* long ago taken place, we say, affords, on a retrospective view, matter for surprise; except as we regard their degraded political condition in the light of a national punishment, the immediate appointment of Divine Providence. "We have no king but Cæsar", said the Jewish rabble, tutored by their sacerdotal rulers; and they have never since had any other king. But, if no natural impossibility, no insurmountable political obstacle, lies in the way of their restoration,—arising either from the magnitude of the event or from the ordinary course of things,—the ground is clear for the inquiry, how far the anticipation of such an event is countenanced by Scripture, and what would be its probable results.

We can conceive of its being attended with results highly unfavourable to the conversion of the Jews, supposing it to precede a religious revolution. Were they, in their present moral condition and with their present views, to be led back to the Holy Land, we should fear that it would tend only to confirm them in their secular notions of Messiah's kingdom, and to give fresh scope and occasion for those cabals and contentions between rival political factions, which hastened the destruction of their commonwealth. The most respectable portion of the nation, the Karaite Jews, would meet with no welcome from their brethren; and were the Rabbinites armed with ecclesiastical power, they would not fail to exhibit the persecuting spirit of their fathers. The re-establishment of the Talmudical law and of an intolerant oligarchy under the name of the Sanhedrim, would, it has been remarked, be scarcely less injurious to the progress of Christianity in that country, than the revival of the Jesuits in Europe. And most revolting and melancholy would be the spectacle, to see them blindly setting about the re-construction of their temple, and insulting the scene of our Lord's sufferings with fresh memorials of their unbelief and impenitence. The probability that attempts of this kind would be made, may be one reason why they have never been permitted to return as a nation to their own land. 'If,' as Mr. Jowett remarks, 'the possession of a particular region were to depend on the power to purchase it, the Jews have always been sufficiently rich to buy a larger tract of land than Palestine.'* Nor can we conceive of any objections which lie against their restoration, on the ground of political expediency. The principal difficulties to be surmounted would arise from ecclesiastical prejudices; for the

* Jowett's *Christ. Researches in Syria*, p. 448.

Romish Church, which has not yet lost the taste of Jewish blood, would never consent that they should be restored to civil freedom. Viewed in the abstract, we must regard their emancipation as an event highly desirable on the broad ground of their equal title to all the blessings of political liberty. Abhorring all tyranny and slavery, we must wish to see Israel free. Still, we are not sure that the Jewish people would, under a native government of their own, be likely to enjoy a greater portion of civil or religious freedom than they do under the dominion of Russia, or even under the Turkish yoke. And we question, therefore, whether their religious reformation would be favoured by their political revival. Such an event may take place at no very distant period—we deem it not by any means improbable—and yet, it may be no more in fulfilment of prophecy, than the emancipation of the Greeks or of the Irish. And it may prove a hinderance, instead of furthering their being grafted in again into the Church of God.

A contrary result is possible. Their restoration may take place under circumstances that shall in great measure obviate the attendant evils we have referred to; and it may be preceded by a general diffusion of knowledge among the scattered tribes, that shall render them capable of political union and liberal institutions. It is possible, that the dry bones may thus be brought together and clothed anew with the form of life and the shape of a political body, before the word of God shall impart spiritual vitality to the risen nation. There is something so pleasing, so fascinating in this anticipation, that its truth is often admitted without a very close investigation of the Scriptural evidence. It is possible, we say, that the Jews may be restored to their own land with very mistaken expectations, retaining still their carnal prejudices, rejecting the Son of David who is come, and vainly looking for another; and that they may afterwards, by a fresh Pentecostal effusion, be cured of their fatal blindness, and become obedient to the faith. The question is, What are the Scriptural grounds for such an expectation?

If their restoration to Palestine be desirable, it must be as introductory and subsidiary to such a result. We can scarcely bring ourselves to attach importance to the event in any other point of view. Whether the Jewish people should be located in Syria, in Poland, or in Barbary, in itself matters little: their being restored to the Church is every thing. We wish to see them a free people, no matter under what government or what parallel. There are waste lands enough within the limits of the Turkish empire, to receive and support them if they were thrice as numerous,—in Cyprus and the parts of Libya about Cyrene,

in Mesopotamia, and Cappadocia, and Pontus, and Cilicia, in Numidia and Mauritania; where, indeed, they are now found, as their fathers were, but every where in a state of political degradation and jeopardy. They would, however, deem nothing worthy the name of restoration, that did not re-instate them in their own land. This attachment to Palestine is unconquerable; but it partakes quite as much of superstition as of patriotism. It forms an article of popular belief, Dr. Henderson informs us, among the Polish Jews, that die where they may, their bodies will all be raised there at the end of the world. They believe that such as die in foreign parts, are doomed to perform the *gilgul mehiloth*, or trundling passing through subterraneous caverns till they reach the sepulchres of their fathers; on which account so many remove thither in their life time, or direct their remains to be forwarded by sea to be interred there, to save themselves the trouble of an underground passage*. The full strength of this feeling displayed itself in the declaration made by a Turkish Jew to Mr. Wolff. 'Even', said the Rabbi, 'if Messiah should come now, and not bring us to Palestine, we would not hear him.' Mr. Wolff's reply was a very just reproof: 'You are *carnally-minded*.'—If, however, it was, in this Rabbi, an indication (as it assuredly was) of a carnal mind, to regard the restoration of the Jews to Palestine as the great event to which the prophecies point, and the object for which Messiah is expected to come,—then let Mr. Wolff say, what are we to think of those Christians who take a similar view of the Old Testament prophecies, and who would encourage in the Jews this worldly-minded expectation? The following is the language held by the Defender of the Students of Prophecy.

'The promise of the perpetual kingdom was not to David for himself, but to David for his son; even the rod out of the root of Jesse. Do you mean to maintain that the promise to David, the son of Jesse, that his son should sit upon his throne for ever, is fulfilled by the Son of God sitting upon God's throne? In this case, you must maintain that David means God; for, if the son sitting upon David's throne signifies Christ sitting upon God's throne, you can believe nothing else. Or will you contend, that the Son of David sitting upon his *Father's* throne, means the Son of God sitting upon his *own* throne, and therefore not upon his Father's throne? It is easy to say, that the throne of David is a spiritual throne; and so far as the one word *throne* is concerned, it can neither be proved nor disproved; but when we put together into the proposition all the things predicated of it, we cannot possibly give it any other than a literal interpretation. Is the promise to the Virgin Mary, that her child, the *man* Jesus, should

* Henderson's Biblical Researches, p. 224.

sit upon his father's David's throne, fulfilled by his going into heaven to sit upon a throne on which his father David never did sit? p. 34.

Had we met with this passage in the writings of some Jewish or some infidel objector against the truth of the Old Testament prophecies,—and it is certainly not unworthy of Tom Paine,—we should have known how to deal with it. But it is painful to meet with such aberrations as these in writers who reverence the authority of Inspiration. According to the above reasoning, we are to believe, that the declaration of the angel to the Virgin Mary remains *unfulfilled*; that our Lord's exaltation to the throne of universal dominion, his being invested, as man, with all power in heaven and on earth, does not include the fulfilment of the declaration that he should reign over the House of Jacob; that, because the anti-type transcends the type, the correspondence is destroyed; that, because Messiah is David's lord, he is not his Son; that, because our Lord's kingdom is not of this world, he does not reign over the world; that he must descend from his own throne to sit upon the throne of David, so undergoing a second humiliation, not to fulfil the office of a priest, but the functions of a king! If this statement does not furnish a sufficient confutation of the unscriptural chimera, the language of St. Peter precludes the necessity for any further argument. "Therefore David, being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne: He, seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ. . . . Therefore, being by the right hand of the Father exalted, and having received the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the heavens; but he saith himself, The Lord said unto my lord, sit thou on my right hand till I make thy foes thy footstool. Therefore, let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God *hath made* that same Jesus whom ye have crucified, *both LORD and Christ.*" As we are not contending with persons who will question whether the Apostles understood the Old Testament prophecies, we put it to the common sense and conscience of the students of prophecy, whether Christ is not here expressly affirmed to be the anointed *Lord of Israel*, in fulfilment of the promise made to David, and of David's prophecy respecting his Son and Lord. The first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews is equally decisive on this point. The promise which gladdened the heart of David was, not that Messiah should reign from Egypt to Euphrates, but that the Messiah who was to reign at God's right hand, should be his descendant according to the flesh. That the throne of David means, in reference to Christ, a

'*spiritual* throne', is not our position*. We assert, that his is a *heavenly* throne, but a dominion not less actual, personal, and in a certain sense political, than that of David was; not the less actual, because its providential administration is an object of faith, nor the less personal because "as yet we see him not", nor the less political, because he is raised "far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath all things put under his feet."

That among the modern Millenarians, there are to be found many spiritual-minded individuals, we readily admit; but we must at the same time contend, with all our respect for the piety of their feelings and motives, that their opinions "savour of the things of men"; that they are Jewish, and not Christian, both in their spirit and origin. The utter contrariety to the genius of Christianity, of such a judaizing system of interpretation as has lately been revived, and its dangerous tendency, have long ago been pointed out in a little volume which deserves to be better known. It is many years since our attention was first attracted to it by the interest of the subject and the highly respected name of the Author, Dr. Peter Allix, and we sat down to the perusal of it without any previous bias either for or against his positions. It seems that, in his day, 'a great number of divines had adopted several ideas which were purely Jewish, in following the authority of the Masters of the Synagogue'; and it appeared to him of some consequence, 'to endeavour to free them from some of their errors, by shewing them that several of the hypotheses which they had adopted, could produce no other effect than to harden the Jews, by making them conceive that their masters have such clear proofs of their sentiments, that one part of the Christians is forced to embrace them.' The title of the Tract is, "A Confutation of the Hope of the Jews concerning the last Redemption." It is in the form of Remarks upon the Eighth Treatise of the famous Rabbi Sahadias upon that subject, a translation of which is prefixed; an author of the greatest celebrity and authority among the Jews both in the East and the West. In the Dedication (to the Bishop of Ely), Dr. Allix makes some introductory remarks upon the Millenarian controversy, which we shall transcribe as conveying some useful information.

"Before the midst of the Second Century", says Dr. Allix, "we find that several Christians had already mixed with this doctrine of

* Dr. Hamilton uses this expression, in contradistinction from *literal*, but, we think, in this case unhappily.

the Millennium, many notions which savoured altogether of Judaism; some Jews converted to Christianity having made their utmost effort to join with the doctrine of St. John, the ideas of their masters with relation to a temporal reign of the Messiah in Palestina, and concerning several other Articles diametrically opposite to the doctrine of our Saviour Christ. After this mixture of those Jewish ideas with those of St. John the Apostle, this doctrine became a stumbling-block to many Christians, and we may say, that it occasioned an irreconcilable difference between the ancientest interpreters of Holy Scripture. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, Origen, and his disciples, became famous for standing up and opposing this medley of Jewish notions with St. John's system. But it fell out so, that they gave allegorical explications to all the ancient prophecies, which served to no other end but to render the sense of them dark and obscure, the literal sense seeming to them altogether insipid. St. Jerom, who made commentaries upon all the prophets, following but too closely Origen's method and his works, where he shews the sense and the explication which the Jews gave these ancient prophecies, convinces us that Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, followed the Jewish ideas of the Millennium in their full extent.

The same differences were renewed at the time ensuing the Reformation, but more especially a hundred years ago; and the Holy Scripture being more studied, and with greater helps than before, the books of the Jews and their commentaries being published, we saw Christian divines divided about these matters. And this division was carried so far, as to force several to think themselves obliged to abstain from the study of the prophecies; but more particularly of the book of the Revelations, so that they might avoid joining themselves to a party, and not expose themselves to the laughter of their adversaries. Yet, it is certain, that every one that studies Scripture, must espouse a party touching the questions that relate to this controversy.

St. Jerom, in several places, maintained, that the Ten Tribes never returned into their own country. This opinion was so universally followed, that the Divines of the Church of Rome unanimously declared for the opinion of the Jews, when they adopted their notion concerning the coming of Elijah before the second appearing of the Messiah. The greatest part of the Protestant writers rejected this opinion; and to free themselves from it, turned into allegories most of the oracles which relate to the return of the Ten Tribes, and of the Two Tribes under the empire of Cyrus and of his successors, that by that means they might apply them to the time of the Gospel. Some acknowledged that it was hard this application should be just, seeing that the terms of the prophecies relate to temporal advantages, which the primitive Christians never enjoyed; so that they pretended with Theodoret, that these oracles which the Jews at present refer to the time of the Messiah, had a literal accomplishment under Zerubbabel and his successors. Since Protestants applied themselves to the study of the Revelation of St. John, they divided themselves into two parties. The one, in imitation of the Papist Divines, and upon the same foundation that crept in amongst Christians out of the school of the Jews, pretend that some allusions found in the book of the Revelation,

obliged them to apply all the oracles of the old Prophets to the Millennium. So that, without the least hesitation, they apply to the time of the Messiah, a great number of prophecies which had their accomplishment before the coming of our Lord. As the Jews afford them no small assistance upon those places of the Old Testament, so it happened, that they also embraced one part of the Jewish system with regard to the second coming of the Messiah. They adopted a temporal reign of the Messiah, a re-establishment of Jerusalem, of its temple, of its sacrifices, a kingdom of the Jews in the land of Canaan; and they pretend that these hypotheses, which had their rise in the bosom of the Synagogue, since it rejected the true Messiah, are sufficient means to make them embrace him, when he shall reveal himself to call all the nations of the world to his communion. This was formerly the opinion of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, and of several Fathers, for some ages. But Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, particularly defended it in his Commentaries on the Prophets. As this opinion appears to me of a very dangerous consequence, and seeing at present it is reviving, I thought myself obliged to do my utmost to prevent its growth.' pp. ii—iv.

The Defender of the Students of Prophecy boldly asserts, that a Millennium, as held by the modern Millenarians, 'was the general belief of the first ages of the Church', and that 'the doctrine was maintained even up to the first council of Nice.' That such an assertion should be reiterated, after its utter contrariety to fact has been so repeatedly demonstrated, only shews that error is an earth-born giant who recovers strength from being prostrated. 'If they had simply affirmed, that their creed was ancient', Dr. Hamilton remarks, 'or, at least, that there had been an ancient expectation of a supernatural Millennium, they would have asserted a notorious and indubitable fact.'

'But when they say, that their notions respecting the Millennium prevailed in the primitive church, and prevailed in the best and purest ages of the church, they betray either a childish ignorance of the history of the Christian church, or a deplorable want of Christian truth and candour.' p. 291.

In fact, a direct confutation of the assertion is supplied by the pages of Mr. Irving's Oracle, the learned Jew or Jesuit, Ben Ezra, alias Lacunza. In this curious and elaborate defence of the Jewish doctrine of the Millennium, Lactantius is made to assert, by means of an imperfect citation, that it was, until the termination of the fourth century, 'the common opinion of Christians';—'this doctrine of the holy fathers the prophets, which we Christians follow.' Yet, Ben Ezra immediately proceeds to shew, that the 'common opinion of Christians' on this point, was any thing rather than the doctrine of the holy fathers and the Scriptures. He tells us, that the an-

cient Millenarians must be distinguished into three classes. In the first, we have the followers of Cerinthus and other heretics, and heretics alone, because it is *impossible* 'that the saints who are called Millenarians, or the other Catholic and pious doctors, would in any way follow this party.' In the second class, are comprised the Jewish Rabbies who look for their Messiah in the form of a great conqueror, subjecting to his dominion, by force of arms, all nations, and obliging them to observe the law of Moses; and those Christians who have followed in their footsteps or adopted some of their ideas. 'These are they whom, with propriety, they call judaizing Millenarians, whose principal leaders were Nepos, an African bishop, against whom St. Dionysius Alexandrinus wrote his two books upon the Promises, and Apollinarius, against whom St. Epiphanius wrote under the seventy-seventh heresy.' The third class of Millenarians is that in which the Writer enters the catholic and the pious; including Saints Justin, Irenæus, and Lactantius, in whose works he professes that he can find no trace of any such extravagance. But the ridiculous ideas of Nepos and Apollinaris, it is admitted, were embraced by '*innumerable followers.*' Nor were the notions of Cerinthus held by a few. The common or prevailing opinion among the Millenarians then, we must conclude, was *not* the doctrine of the third class, who formed the minority. On the contrary, the Apocalypse, which Ben Ezra affirms to be the proper and natural key to the *whole* Scriptures, 'had the misfortune to fall', he says, 'almost from the beginning, into the impure hands of gross heretics.' The consequence was, that the doctrine of the Millennium, as expounded by Papias and his followers, brought into suspicion the authenticity and inspiration of the Apocalypse itself; so that, at the end of the fourth century, 'it was almost universally considered as spurious by the members of the Greek Church.'* 'Likewise', adds Ben Ezra, 'it is undeniable, that many Millenarians, although both catholic and pious, *but wanting in spirituality*, not a little abuse this twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, adding, from their own fancy, matters which the Scripture expresseth not, and proceeding to write treatises and books which appear more like novels fit only to amuse the idle.' He proceeds to say, that many grave and learned men who have written upon the subject, separate, and with good reason, those whom they denominate innocent, from 'the *common herd* of Millenarians'; 'but I likewise see', he adds, 'that when they come to censure and final sentence, they involve them all.' We desire no clearer proof than this, that the '*common herd*' of ancient Millena-

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 491; 541.

rians were *not* of the innocent class,—that, *as a sect*, they were distinguished by tenets opposed to the doctrines of primitive Christianity,—and that, although some who embraced the Millenarian fable, (including Nepos himself,) were men of undoubted learning and piety, and not chargeable with the impious extravagance of the Cerinthian crew,—still, they were regarded as having fallen into the same error respecting the nature of the kingdom of Christ. Thus, Sixtus Senensis, in a passage cited by Ben Ezra, admits that the opinion of Lactantius and others differed from the dogma of Cerinthus; but he asserts, that it nevertheless contained error at variance with the evangelical doctrine. And the opinions of Lactantius, as cited by Dr. Hamilton, will not appear to our readers undeserving of being so stigmatized. Those who shall be living in the time of the Millennium, he says,

‘ shall not die;—but, during these thousand years, *shall produce an infinite multitude of children*, and their offspring shall be holy and beloved of God. But those who shall be raised from the dead, will, as judges, rule over the living. The nations, however, shall not be altogether destroyed: some of them shall be left for a conquest to God; that the just may triumph over them, and *subject them to perpetual bondage*.....The rocks will drop honey; wine will run in streams, and the rivers overflow with milk,’ &c. *Hamilton*, pp. 295, 6.

In reference, probably, to this very passage, Sixtus Senensis remarks, that the opinion of Lactantius was opposed to the doctrine of our Lord, that “the children of the Resurrection neither marry nor are given in marriage”; and to the declaration of St. Paul, that the kingdom of God “consisteth not in meat and drink, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.” Yet, Ben Ezra confidently asserts, that ‘Lactantius neither directly nor indirectly utters such extravagance’ as, that ‘among the risen saints there will be such marriages and banquets.’ ‘And equally certain is it’, he adds, ‘that neither St. Justin, nor St. Irenæus, nor Tertullian had broached such an error, or ever had a thought of it.’ The following, however, is the language of Irenæus, as cited by Dr. Hamilton.

‘The days shall come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches; and each of these branches shall have ten thousand smaller branches; and each of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs; and each of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes; and each of these grapes being pressed, shall give twenty-five measures of wine,’ &c. p. 299.

The language of Justin is far less puerile, but he too seems to have given into the judaizing system of interpretation. Nor

is it with any justice, that, while he is ranked among the pious Millenarians, Nepos is entered by Ben Ezra in a less innocent class. Dionysius thus speaks of the African bishop in the work written expressly to confute his errors. 'I will grant that, in many respects, I follow Nepos, and that I esteem him on account of his faith, his labours, his diligence in expounding the Bible, and also on account of his hymns, which many of our brethren still use to their edification; and I have so much the more respect for him, as he is gone to his rest before us; but the truth is dearer and more valuable to me than any thing else.'* Ben Ezra would throw Nepos overboard; and he represents Justin, and Irenæus, and all the orthodox Millenarians as complaining of Nepos for his absurd notions. But he does not adduce the slightest evidence of the discrepancy of their opinions; and his classification may therefore be dismissed as having no other foundation than an erroneous assumption. Indeed, his own opinions are so decidedly those of the judaizing Millenarians, that we can trust as little to his discrimination as to his accuracy of statement. He avows his belief, that not only will the temple be rebuilt, but the ancient rites of sacrifice and all the Jewish ceremonies will be re-established as an acceptable service; an opinion at which we feel less surprise, when we recollect how well it harmonizes with the Popish doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. 'In the new and last temple of Jerusalem', he says, 'the ancient sacrifices will be nothing else than a new and most wise liturgy which shall precede the bloodless sacrifices of the Eucharist.' He believes too, that 'there will be deposited in that new temple, the very sacred ark of the old covenant, the tabernacle, and the altar, which Jeremiah, being "warned of God", hid in a cave of Mount Nebo, prophesying at the same time: "As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together and receive them unto mercy." 2 Maccabees, ii. 8.' Ben Ezra, Vol. II. pp. 298, 9.

Such is a specimen of 'the wonderful work',—the 'best gift offered to the easy, drowsy, lukewarm Church in these latter times,' as Mr. Irving characterises it, which, together with Basilicus's Letters and his own Discourses on Prophecy, he represents as a threefold voice from the *sister* churches of Rome, England, and Scotland, which let any one refuse to listen to,—*'if he dare'!*

The opinions of Ben Ezra, however, are neither peculiar nor novel. Michaelis, after expressing his opinion that the sensual doctrine of the Millenarians might give the more offence, in ancient times, on account of the ascetic views of many of the fathers

* Eusebius, as cited by Michaelis. Marsh's Michaelis, iv. 476.

of the Church *, proceeds to remark, that the doctrine was rejected by the Reformers in the sixteenth century on a very different account, and was condemned, 'not as a speculative, but as a dangerous practical error. For the expectation of a kingdom in which pure saints should rule over the unregenerate children of the world, began to excite a spirit of sedition; as it is very easy for the unruly members of a discontented party to fancy, that they themselves are the saints, and their opponents the unregenerate: and for this very reason, the Augsburg Confession condemns the doctrine of the Millennium in express terms. Further, according to the representation of the ancient Chiliasts, offerings and offering-festivals were to be celebrated in this kingdom. But such notions are inconsistent with St. Paul's doctrine concerning the imperfection and abolition of the Levitical law.' †

As such notions are evidently of Jewish origin, so, their revival in modern times has originated in a desire to promote the reception of Christianity on the part of the Jews. This was the great design which Mede had in view; and it is the avowed object of Ben Ezra.

'My purpose and desire, in the third place, is, to offer some greater light, some other remedy more prompt and efficacious, to my own brethren the Jews, "whose are the fathers, and of whom is Jesus Christ according to the flesh." And what remedy can these miserable men receive, but the knowledge of their true Messiah whom they love, and for whom they sigh night and day without knowing Him? And how are they to know him unless the doctrine be opened to them? And how, in the state of ignorance and blindness in which they are actually found, can that doctrine be sufficiently discovered, while you shew them only the one half of Messiah, while the other half is concealed and even positively denied?—if there be preached to them only what is to be found in the Scriptures pertaining to (his) first coming in suffering flesh, as Redeemer, as Master, as Example, as High Priest, &c.—and there be denied to them without any reason, what, accord-

* This supposition is more ingenious than solid. It was not so much any voluptuous doctrine that was charged upon the Chiliasts, as their embracing the fable of 'a golden and gemmed Jerusalem on the earth, the renewal of the temple, delights of the feast and servitude of all nations, and the renewal of wars, armies, and triumphs, and slaughter of the vanquished.'

† Marsh's *Michaelis*, Vol. IV. p. 542. It cannot be necessary that we should disclaim participating in the learned Author's scepticism with regard to the canonical authority of the Apocalypse. Dean Woodhouse has, in our opinion, satisfactorily exposed the unreasonableness of his doubts; and Dr. Priestley admits the strength of the external evidence in favour of its authenticity.

ing to the same Scriptures, though with ideas little worthy, and even gross, they believe and hope pertaining to (his) second coming.

Vol. I. p. 10.

How admirably does this new remedy for the moral blindness of the Jew harmonize with St. Paul's determination to "know nothing" among the churches, "save Jesus Christ, even the Crucified One",—to glory in nothing "save *the Cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ!" It was upon this system of accommodation, that the first judaizing teachers sought to render Christianity palatable to their own countrymen by obviating "the offence of the Cross." And it was the same fatal policy which led to the corruption of religion by the Romish Church, in adaptation to the prejudices of the heathen. This *succedaneum* for the gospel which Paul preached, might naturally enough commend itself to the adoption of a Spanish Jesuit or Jew; but most grievously do Protestants err from the simplicity of Christ, when they would substitute the Millennium for the Cross, and build up in the mind of the unbelieving Jew, those fond prejudices and delusions which St. Paul laboured with all his apostolic zeal and authority to destroy. To the Jew, indeed, he became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews; but such a policy formed no part of his plan of conciliation. And, in those parts of his writings which had for their express object to vindicate his own patriotism and to excite the emulation of the Jews, it is especially remarkable, that there occurs not a hint as to their political restoration. His doctrine was, that "Christ gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world"; and awful is the anathema which he denounces against such as should preach to the Jews any other gospel. But what else than another gospel is the new remedy for Jewish unbelief, which Ben Ezra proposes? A crucified Saviour suffering as a victim, the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world,—this is, in his view, the dark side of Christianity to a Jew; and he finds an excuse for his unbelief in the unpalatableness of the doctrine. But tell him, that his temple shall be restored with all its rites and ceremonies; that he shall be led back to Palestine; that David's throne shall be built up again in temporal splendour; and that Messiah shall personally occupy it, and ride forth at the head of his saints to the slaughter of the wicked,—then, the Jews will become obedient to the faith!

The Unitarian has *his* plan for converting the Jews and the children of Ishmael also, which, opposite as it is in some respects, proceeds upon the same erroneous calculation, that the unbelief of the Jew would be removed by the adaptation of Christianity to his reasonable prejudices. Divest the faith in Christ of those repulsive doctrines,—the Atonement, Justifica-

tion through the blood of Christ, and the Divine nature of the Son of God, and every obstacle to its reception, it is thought, would be removed. To both the Unitarian and the Judaizing Millenarian, the words of St. Paul convey a sufficient reply: "The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness, but, unto them who are called, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men."

In relation then to the best interests of the Jews themselves, we regard the Millenarian doctrine as having the most unfavourable tendency. If the Jews are to be restored to Palestine, this is not the gospel that is to be the instrument of their conversion. The Jew must be saved *as a sinner*, and his salvation must consist in being delivered from his sins. He must be taught that in Christ, his circumcision "availeth nothing," and that between Jew and Gentile "there is no difference". "He who is our peace, hath made both one". Surely those are not the true friends of the Jewish people, who would encourage in their minds a hope of political supremacy, founded on their standing in a nearer relation to Messiah than the meanest Gentile who is sealed by the Spirit. It was not to the Jews, that St. Peter addressed himself, when he said, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation." Nor was it as a Hebrew of the Hebrews that St. Paul said, "*We* are the circumcision, who rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh". All that distinguished him as a Jew, every hope peculiar to him as a Jew, he disclaimed and rejected that he might be found in Christ. Nothing, as it appears to us, can be more diametrically opposed to the whole genius of the Christian dispensation and the constant tenor and bearing of the Apostolic writings, than the language of our modern Millenarians respecting the Jews, whom they would coax and bribe into accepting the Gospel,—no, not the Gospel, but the hope of the Second Advent; bribe, not indeed with money, but with the golden reversion of the sovereignty of Palestine, nay of the Church itself. "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" said our Blessed Lord;—and surely that filial relation was the closest of ties of which his humanity was susceptible,—a relation of which, even amid the agonies of the Cross, he was neither unmindful nor regardless;—Who are my countrymen? he might, *à fortiori*, have demanded, when he added: "For whosoever doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my Mother, and Sister, and Brother."

But the most dangerous feature of the Millenarian theology, is the erroneous method of Biblical interpretation to which its

dreams and dogmas owe all their plausibility. It is this circumstance, as we remarked in the outset, which gives the subject its chief importance, since, as the Author of the "Objections" remarks,—

'If the doctrine contested be fallacious, the principles of scriptural interpretation by which it is maintained are fallacious also, and, if not exposed and exploded, are calculated to sap the foundations of truth, to cherish the rank weeds of fanaticism, mislead the ignorant, misdirect the zealous, obstruct the progress of true religion, and weaken the efforts of those who scripturally seek the moral renovation of the world.' p. vii.

Now, the fundamental principle of the system of interpretation adopted by divines of this school, from the time of Nepos to that of Mede and Ben Ezra, is to take the Apocalypse as the key to the whole of the Old Testament Scriptures; but a key which, in their hands, serves to *lock up* the prophecies of the Old Testament among the secret things belonging to the future, rather than to open their true import. All their labours have for their object to shew, that the old prophecies have *not* been fulfilled,—that the opinion of the Jewish rabbies on this point is right,—and that the argument in favour of our Lord's divine mission and the truth of Christianity, derivable from the fulfilment of prophecy, has owed much of its apparent strength to the misapprehension of Christian advocates. Even the prophecies of Moses and David have not, it seems, been verified as yet. This was the great error into which Mr. Mede was betrayed, by forsaking the guidance of the New Testament for that of the Talmud. 'No one', remarks Dr. Peter Allix, in the volume before referred to,

'hath a greater veneration for Mr. Mede's memory, than I have; and I am so far from desiring to diminish his reputation, that I freely own, we are indebted to his industry and labours for that great light we enjoy in St. John's Revelation. But, as I do not in the least believe Mr. Mede was divinely inspired for the understanding and explaining the Revelation of St. John, so, I fancy it is lawful for me, or any body else who is a lover of the truth, to shew, that his method is not only loose, but also contrary to his great design, which was the conversion of the Jews. Mr. Mede hath done two things in his *Clavis Apocalyptica*. First, he explained St. John's text, and for the most part hath done it excellently well. But, as the Book of the Revelation alludes to many prophecies of the Old Testament, which the Jews refer to several events under the Messiah, so, I find he hath been prevailed upon to follow the Jewish explications of those texts of the old Prophets, as if they had never been accomplished, which is the opinion of the Jews: in supposing which things, I am fully convinced at present he was in the wrong. . . . Those Oracles having had their literal accomplishment before the nativity of Christ, St. John, in his Revelation, could not be supposed to allude to them, but with relation to the conformity and

likeness which there is to be between some events already past and some other events which are yet to come.

‘ I acknowledge Mr. Mede has on his side a great many famous authors amongst the Ancients and Moderns, both Papists and Protestants of the greatest fame, and also no small number of the learnedest commentators, who have led him into his prejudices. Some Rules of the Ancients for the better understanding of the Prophecies of old, (such as St. Jerome mentioned by Cornelius à Lapide in his Prolegomena to the Prophets,) have also caused him to embrace some of the Jewish notions, as though they were the same with St. John’s prophecies in the Revelation. And this you perceive from the end of his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, where he produces a place out of Justin Martyr, which he vindicates against St. Jerome, and where he quotes several places from the Targhum, from the Talmud, and from R. Sahadias, being fully persuaded that those authors maintained such a Millennium as he had imagined and collected from St. John.

..... ‘ After all, I confess Mr. Mede was very much in the right for condemning many divines, who, being to dispute against the Jews, objected against them those places of Scripture which concern the glorious kingdom of the Messiah, as though they had been fulfilled at the first coming of our Saviour. Certainly, this is not the way to work upon, but rather to harden the Jews. But yet, at the same time, I maintain, that the hypothesis which Mr. Mede pretends to establish from the prophecies of the Old Testament, as relating to the Millennium revealed by St. John, *does put as great a stop* to the conversion of the Jews. For it is certain, first, that those prophecies do not in the least relate to the latter times; as I have shewn upon the i^{id} and x^{ith} chapters of Isaiah, and upon Isaiah i. 16, Zeph. iii. 8, and Malachi iv. 1. Upon which places the Jews establish their notions, and which many of the Fathers and of the modern commentators apply to the first foundation of the Gospel. Secondly, it is as certain, that, if they relate to the latter times, *viz.* after the destruction of Antichrist, as Mr. Mede pretends, they must be understood according to the explication of the Jews; which explication is absolutely contrary to the genius of the Christian religion and to the book of Revelation. This is the reason why I have altogether renounced these principles of Mr. Mede, which I yet afore followed but too closely, being prevailed upon by the authority and example of some great men who adhere to them but too much.’

..... ‘ I have a great value for Mr. Mede’s judgement; but that great man forgot himself through an effect of his prejudices on that question. For, though he was in the right to be angry with St. Jerom for adopting the foolish notion of the Jews, *viz.* that the Ten Tribes never returned by virtue of Cyrus’s Edict; yet, by this hypothesis, (of another captivity after that of Assyria and Chaldea *,) which

* One of Mr. Mede’s chief arguments in favour of this second captivity, and the subsequent restoration of the Jewish polity and temple, is founded on the *prophecy of Tobias* (*prophetia Tobiae moribundi*). But the words which he cites, are not to be found either in the Greek, the Latin, or the Syriac version, or in the Hebrew of Munster. And

he borrowed from the Jews, he overturned all the sense of the prophecies. First, he applied many prophecies to Christ, which literally concerned Zerubbabel. Secondly, he referred many prophecies which literally concerned the happiness of Israel as restored to their land, to the Christian Church, explaining those prophecies either by a spiritual peace or by a happiness in heaven. Thirdly, he applied many prophecies which concerned the re-establishment of the Levitical worship and the Second Temple, (as though they were to be understood by a figure,) to the spiritual worship under the Gospel. In short, he usually takes Israel and Judah after an allegorical, and not after a literal manner. According to his style, Judea signifies the Christian Church, and Earth signifies Heaven; and as by these hypotheses he hindered the conversion of the Jews, so, he also gave them but too just an occasion of laughing at Christian interpreters who followed his principles, as you see from Abarbanel's Preface to his *Masmiah Jeshua*.

Dr. Allix then proceeds to instance as another of Mr. Mede's mistakes, his notion concerning a second Elijah as the forerunner of our Lord at his second coming. 'It would be considered,' says the Father of prophetic interpretation, (so Mr. Cuninghame styles him,) 'seeing the coming of Christ is twofold, first and second, whether the same prophecy implies not that there should be a harbinger as well of his second coming as of his first; as well an Elias to prepare the way for his coming in glory to judge the world, as there was at his first coming in humility to preach the Gospel and suffer for the world.' Mr. Mede urges three reasons in support of this strange opinion, which the Jews are particularly fond of, on account of its telling so strongly against the truth of Christianity. His first is, 'the consent of all the Fathers in general,' which is in his opinion of no small weight. On this argument, Dr. Allix remarks:—

'First, there are several eminent authors among the Papists, who maintained, that in Malachi, mention is made of John the Baptist, and not of Elias. Such were Paulus Burgensis, a converted Jew, Arias

Mr. Mede is therefore led to suppose, that St. Jerome *left them out on purpose!* This unwarrantable charge has no other ground than the edition of Fagius, which is not the Chaldee original, but a Hebrew version from the Greek, made by some ignorant Jew in later times. It is curious to observe the consistent fondness of the Millenarians for the Apocrypha, at the moment that some of them in our day affect to be so indignant against its circulation. Mr. Mede does not lay more stress upon the book of Tobit, than Mr. Irving does upon the 2d book of Esdras. As to Ben Ezra, as might be expected, 'the famous prophecy of holy Tobias,' 'the prophecy of Barnuch,' and the second book of Maccabees, are his strong-holds. See vol. ii. pp. 209—212. As an earnest stickler for adhering to the letter of Scripture, and rejecting the allegorical sense, he also draws some of his most cogent scriptural arguments from Solomon's Song!

Montanus, and Isidorus Clarius. Secondly, all the Fathers in general believed that Elias was to come in person before the second appearing of Christ; which Mr. Mede rejects as altogether absurd, and indeed not without reason, seeing we own Christ to be the true Messiah. Thirdly, how could the Fathers avoid embracing such an error, seeing the Greek version, which they maintained was inspired by the Holy Ghost, had, in Mal. iv. 5, added the word *Thisbite* to Elias? It was chiefly from that Jewish gloss, which was inserted into the text, that the Author of the Sibylline Oracles fancied that Elias the Thisbite should come from heaven and give three signs. And that foolish author, having obtained but too great an esteem, was followed by Justin Martyr, by Tertullian, by Hippolitus, by Ephrem, by Gregory Nys-sen, by St. Ambrose, by St. Austin, and by many others, but particularly by almost all the writers in the Church of Rome.

Mr. Mede's second reason is, that the Prophet Malachi refers, in ver. 6. of the last chapter, to the Day of Judgement. 'If we will not admit the day here described to be the Day of Judgement', he says, 'I know scarce any description of that day in the Old Testament but we may elude.' Dr. Allix remarks in the first place, that by 'the earth', in ver. 6, nothing more is denoted than the land of Judea, according to the clear and acknowledged import of the word in numerous other places; and that the anathema threatened corresponds to the *securis ad radicem posita* of the Baptist, Matt. iii. 10. Secondly, the great and dreadful day of the Lord, is the day of his coming spoken of in the previous chapter. The Millenarians, indeed, would deny that either expression could be applied to the destruction of Jerusalem. Mr. Cuninghame affirms, that he 'knows of no text which speaks of our Lord's coming at that catastrophe'; and he reminds us, that 'the eminently profound and learned Bishop Horsley entirely rejects the fancy of a coming of the Lord at the destruction of Jerusalem.' The Bishop is not quite so positive and sweeping, however, in his assertion on this point, as this gentleman represents. In combating, very properly, the notion of some Interpreters who would refer the phrase *exclusively* to the destruction of Jerusalem, the learned Prelate attempts to prove, that 'the figurative use of the phrase is *very rare*, if not altogether unexampled in the Scriptures of the New Testament, *except*, perhaps, in some passages of the Book of Revelation';—an exception which must materially deduct from the weight of the Bishop's authority in Mr. Cuninghame's estimation. We entirely agree with the learned Prelate, that the phrase, in by far the majority of instances, points to the literal and final coming of Our Lord in all the majesty of the Godhead. But we cannot see how any one can question that, in ver. 27 of Matt. xxviii, the destruction of Jerusalem is referred to,—unless it be denied that that event is alluded to at all in the preceding

verses, and that Our Lord's admonitions and cautions had any reference to the time of the Roman invasion and the overthrow of the temple. If any person will assert this, it would be idle to waste any argument in refuting a palpable absurdity*.

In ver. 23 of the tenth chapter, we meet with this same phrase, *ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*; where, whatever construction be put upon the words, the final coming of Our Lord cannot be intended. And again, in ch. xvi. 28, a coming of the Son of Man in his kingdom,—that is to say, a manifestation of his regal power and glory, must be meant, distinct from that which is spoken of in the preceding verse. According to Calvin and the most judicious expositors, the Son of Man coming in his kingdom, is equivalent to his setting up his kingdom or reign on earth,—namely, by the miraculous outpouring of the Spirit and the signs and wonders which attested his exaltation to be a Prince and a Saviour†. The Church is that kingdom which was then visibly established, and against which the gates of hell were found unable to prevail. No sound critic will lay any stress upon the mere word *ἐρχόμενος*, the force of which depends altogether upon the connexion. The same remark will apply to the phrase, the day of the Lord; but it is evident from St. Peter's application of the prophecy of Joel in Acts ii., that *he* understood the destruction of Jerusalem to be the event there referred to.

Mr. Mede's third reason is grounded upon Our Saviour's own words, spoken *after* John was beheaded, and yet seemingly referring to the coming of Elias as a future event: "Elias shall come and shall restore all things." Dr. Allix forcibly replies, that, if we understand Our Lord to refer to a future event, his declaration was no answer either to the question of the disciples, or to the objection of the scribes; for the Jews at that time admitted not two comings of the Messiah, and the question related to the evidence of his first advent. The words ought evidently to have been rendered agreeably to the English idiom: 'Elias was indeed first to come, and was to restore (or 'reform) all things.' The same phraseology occurs, Matt. xi. 3. Besides, had Our Saviour spoken of a second coming of Elias, how was it possible, asks Dr. Allix, for his disciples to under-

* The thrice repeated threat, *ἔρχομαι σοι ταχύ*, (Rev. ii. 5, 16; iii. 3.) clearly points to an approaching hour of trial and the calamities with which the Seven Churches were visited.

† *Adventum verò regni Dei, intellige gloriæ cælestis manifestationem quam à resurrectione auspicatus est Christus, et plenius deinde Spiritum Sanctum mittendo et mirificas edendo virtutes, exhibuit.* Calvin in loco. By others, the visible exhibition of his mediatorial glory in the Transfiguration is understood, as a figure and evidence of his final coming. The connexion in which the words occur, sanctions this view.

stand that he spoke of John the Baptist, when he added, "But I say unto you, that Elias is come already"? Mr. Mede is at a loss to know in what sense the words of Malachi were verified by the mission and ministry of the Baptist, since 'the restitution of all things' belongs to the *second* advent of Christ, according to St. Peter's language, Acts iii. 21. But either Mr. Mede, to be consistent, must have denied that Malachi speaks of the first coming of Christ; or he must admit, that John the Baptist did accomplish all things to which the prediction referred.* The declaration of the angel to Zacharias, Luke i. 15—17, is, indeed, so full and unequivocal upon this point, that nothing but the strong prepossession of an hypothesis could have led this learned and pious man to raise a doubt upon the subject.

But supposing that our Lord meant to speak of an Elias yet to come, as the harbinger of his second advent, then how, Dr. Allix asks, 'can Mr. Mede blame the Jews for adhering to the Law of Moses until the second coming of the Messiah, seeing that Malachi commands them to observe it till Elias should come?' 'Or how can he avoid embracing the tradition of the Jews, who have maintained for many ages, (and pretend to ground it upon Jeremiah,) that Elias is to come in order to discover to them the Ark and the Curtains which Jeremiah hid in Mount Nebo, before the burning of the Temple by Nebuzaradan?' The Papists, the learned Author remarks, cannot pretend to deny the authority upon which this fable rests; (referring to 2 Macc. ii. 4, which Mr. Irving's Oracle, Ben Ezra, cites with so triumphant satisfaction;) but Dr. Allix expresses his conviction, that Mr. Mede would not have allowed its validity.

'We cannot abstain from laughing at the fancies of the Romanists, who, having imagined several chimeras concerning Antichrist, pretend that the Jews are to embrace Antichrist, and to adhere to him, and, by a natural consequence, suppose that Elias is to come in person, in order to reclaim them from their horrid error. This, indeed, might be called a restoration; but Mr. Mede was far from such an opinion, though the authority of the Fathers is as much for this as for the first; almost all the Fathers in general having falsely explained after that manner, John v. 43. For my part, it seems that, granting, according to the opinion of the Jews, that Elias is to come before the appearing of the Messiah, and that Elias is a second time to come before the Day of Judgement in order to convert the Fathers and the Church of Rome, it would be more natural to believe that Elias is to come in person, than to suppose that such a prophet as John the Bap-

* Ἀποκατάστασις, as interpreted by Hesychius, is τελείωσις, accomplishment. Campbell renders the verb, accordingly, *consummate*; Doddridge, *regulate*. The sense is illustrated by Matt. xi. 13.

tist was, is to come, who wrought no miracles. For such a prophet as St. John the Baptist was, must go into all the parts of the world where the Jews are at present dispersed, to convert them: whereas, according to the notion of the Sibylline Oracles, Elias would perform that with greater ease, he being to be carried in a fiery chariot where he pleases, and by such an astonishing appearance, engage the Jews to receive the Messiah.'

Ben Ezra and his Translator embrace the notion, that Elias is to come *in person*. The conversion of the Jews, Mr. Irving believes, will be effected 'chiefly by the sending of Elias, who 'is promised before the dreadful and terrible day of the Lord.' (Prel. Dis. vol. i. p. v.) But he does not condescend to give his reasons for the belief. Ben Ezra is more explicit. He affirms, that Malachi iii. 1, 'is manifestly and properly spoken of the 'prophet Elias, and of his mission still future, and at the 'same time, *though indirectly and secondarily*, of the mission 'of St. John the Baptist, who came in the spirit of the power 'of Elias.' And how, does the reader imagine, our worthy Jesuit gets over the declaration of our Lord in the xviith of Matthew? *By boldly transposing the 11th and 12th verses*, so as to make our Lord *add* to his reference to John the Baptist, a declaration that Elias in his own person was yet to come!! (Vol. II. p. 303.) On this point, however, as on almost every other, the Students of Prophecy differ.

'Mr. King is positive that Elijah was only the incarnation of an angel, who re-appeared in the person of the Baptist, and is to return a third time before the supposed personal reign of Christ on earth. (Morsels of Criticism, Vol. I. pp. 221—315.) The collocutors in the Dialogues on Prophecy (Part III. pp. 236—239) have ascertained, as they imagine, that it is not the person, but the spirit of Elias, which is to precede the second coming of Christ. *This spirit has come already.* "The spirit of prophecy has been in abeyance, as it were, ever since the third century, a period of 1500 years, until now, when it has pleased God to awaken the attention of his Church again to the subject, and to excite many persons in every part of England, at one and the same time, to cry, *Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgements is come.* The virgins are gone out to meet the bride; the cry is making, *Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.* This then, is the spirit of Elias, testifying *IN US*, of the second coming of Christ in his glorified body, as it did in John, of the first coming of Christ in his body of humiliation."—"Philaethes—I think you have made out this case *very clearly!!*"

Hamilton on Millenarianism, pp. 223, 4.

Thus it seems, that John the Baptist was no more the Elias of Malachi, than the Prophet Frere or the Prophet Irving, or the King Saul among the Prophets, the Lord of Albury. We should ourselves prefer the notion of the Sibylline

Oracles, Lactantius's great authority, that Elias is to descend in a car of fire; because, if we must have absurdity, let it be poetical and venerable. But the emphatic words of our Lord, while they prepare us for Jewish unbelief, convey a fearful reproof of such *ultra-Judaical* tampering with the Scripture: "For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And, *if ye will receive it*, this is Elias who was to come."

We have purposely refrained, in the present paper, from entering upon the subject of the Millennium itself, reserving that for a distinct article. It will be seen, that we are at issue with the Students of Prophecy as to the very preliminaries and rudiments. No writer on prophecy now-a-days, Mr. Cuninghame tells us,

'can be justly expected to enter upon the proof of the future and certain restoration of the Jews to the land of the fathers, and that this event is also to precede the Millennium. . . Among the students of prophecy, these points are one and all considered as of the nature of *prophetic rudiments finally settled and set at rest*—no less so than the principles of gravitation and first elements of mechanics and chemistry are in the schools of human science.' p. ix.

This is amusing. But may we take the liberty of saying, that we lay claim ourselves to the modest designation of students of prophecy, albeit we have not attained to the inspired interpretation of it, nor have studied in the Albury school; and in our view, these rudiments are any thing rather than established axioms. That the Jews will be restored to Palestine, we neither affirm nor deny; but of this we are quite certain, that the supposed proofs deduced from the Old Testament prophecies, are, for the most part, entirely fallacious, resting upon an erroneous system of interpretation, and that the objections which lie against the doctrine, have never yet been satisfactorily disposed of. We are not unaware of the difficulties connected with the historical interpretation of some of the Old Testament predictions; difficulties arising sometimes from the strength of the figurative language employed; in other cases, from the deficiency of historical documents. But we must maintain, that more than equal difficulties attend the scheme of the Judaizing interpreters, who, whenever it suits their purpose, can allegorize and spiritualize away the literal import as unscrupulously as Origen himself. Dr. Allix's little work contains some highly valuable hints upon the subject of Prophetic Interpretation. As the volume is scarce, we shall perhaps receive the thanks of *some* students of Prophecy, for transcribing the rules which the Author lays down for the explanation of the Old Testament predictions.

'Rule I. A Prophecy which foretels to the people of Israel their

destruction because they were fallen into idolatry, cannot be said to be fulfilled by a destruction which happened at a time when they were *not* guilty of idolatry. I make this observation in opposition to Jewish writers who pretend, that Moses and some other Prophets spoke, in the same prophecies, of the second destruction of their state by Vespasian, as well as of the first by Salmanazar and Nebuchadnezzar. The names of idolatry are exactly distinguished by Mr. Mede (*Com. in Ap. p. 192.*) And indeed, were we to suppose that such predictions of the prophets reach all events of the same nature, how is it possible to know the number of events that are included in the same prophecy?

‘II. A prophecy which supposes the distinction of the people into two kingdoms, cannot be supposed to be fulfilled but at a time when they are actually distinguished into two kingdoms; as they were after Jeroboam’s time.

‘III. A prophecy which supposes a king in Israel, *viz.* over the Ten Tribes, and a king in Judah, *viz.* over the Two Tribes, cannot be fulfilled at a time when there is no king in the midst of them.

‘IV. A prophecy which supposes the distinction of Israel and Judah, as they were distinguished by their tribes and families, cannot be supposed to have its accomplishment, at a time when such a distinction is altogether lost among the people. This rule is of absolute necessity to confute the Jews at present. They are forced to confess, that their nation is so mixed and confounded that no one certainly knows the tribe or family he descended from.

‘V. A prophecy which specifies and denotes such events as concern some particular nations, such as the Philistines, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Amalekites, the Idumeans, the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, cannot be considered as accomplished but with respect to those very nations denoted by those names.

‘VI. We must never apply those prophecies to other nations, which concern only Israel and Judah. This rule is necessary against those who fancy that many prophecies spoken literally of Israel, were accomplished after a spiritual manner, *viz.* when the Gentiles were called to the faith of the Gospel.

‘VII. We must not refer the prophecies of the ancient prophets to such events as are foretold in the New Testament, upon the account of some conformity and likeness which is found between those ideas and the ideas of the first prophets, as if these prophecies had not been fulfilled. This is quite wrong. For the new Prophets, such as St. John, borrow those ideas upon no other account, than because such like events were to happen to the Church after Christ, as had befallen the Jews before Christ, according to the predictions from which they borrow their expressions and their ideas. Thus, it would be ridiculous to apply the prophecies which were published against Babylon in Chaldea, to Rome, because Rome is called, mystically, Babylon.

‘VIII. We must never refer those promises of temporal blessings, or those threats of temporal curses, borrowed from the Law of Moses, to any other nation but to the carnal Israel and Judah, to whom the Prophets proposed them. The method of those that use allegories, hath confounded the sense of a great many prophecies, when they en-

deavoured to make them agree with the spiritual blessings and curses proposed under the Gospel dispensation.

‘IX. It is very unnatural to suppose, that the Prophets passed over and omitted the nearest events, in order to speak of the latter ones, without taking any notice of those events which, according to the end and design of their ministry, and the expectation of the people to whom they were sent from God, they were nearly concerned in.

‘X. It is against common sense, when we apply those Oracles which speak of the people as being in such and such countries, to a time when they at present can no more be said to be in those countries than in any other, but are indifferently scattered in all parts of the world.

‘XI. It is ridiculous to apply to the Jews, as they are in their present condition, those Oracles which speak of them as *captives*, since they are no longer captives, but members of every kingdom or state in which they live; though, in some places, they are excluded from sharing in the government. This Rule is acknowledged by R. Aben Ezra, in several places of his book upon Obadiah and Daniel.

‘XII. It is ridiculous to apply those Oracles which promise the rebuilding of Jerusalem, to a time to come, without you suppose that Jerusalem will shortly be destroyed, that it may be rebuilt again; for it was rebuilt under Adrian, and continues a great city to this day, having been fortified by Christians, Saracens, and Turks.

‘XIII. There is no sufficient ground for denying that an Oracle was fulfilled before the coming of our Saviour, because it is quoted by some of the Writers of the New Testament; seeing, it must be owned, that the Apostles often mix some places of the Old Testament with what they treat of, by way of accommodation, and upon the account of the likeness which they found between the ancient events and the new ones which they foretell.’

In addition to these Rules, the learned Author offers some critical remarks on the force of certain phrases and modes of expression which occur in the Prophetical writings, (such as, not one; *beacharith hajarain*, after that time; *la netsac*, for ever; *leolam* and *gnad olam*, *gnad dor vedor*, &c.), and on the figurative language applied to the overthrow of states, taken from the convulsions of nature; which are not reducible to a general canon. These Rules will of course appear to our modern Millenarians altogether inadmissible, for they are fatal to their whole scheme of interpretation. We are strongly inclined to believe, however, that every one of them is susceptible of being fully established; and they certainly strike us as being much more deserving of the appellation of *prophetic rudiments* and first elements of interpretation, than the assumptions which Mr. Cuninghame would lay as the basis of all inquiries into the import of Scripture Prophecy. We wish to speak, however, with all due humility, not knowing how far, by venturing an opinion of our own on the point, we may incur the same rebuke that Mr.

Cunninghame inflicts upon another Reviewer,—‘a man of piety and worth, who has obtained a very creditable degree of knowledge on the subject of prophecy, but who has overrated his attainments, which certainly are not of that extensive and profound nature’, we are told, that is required for the high task of reviewing the writings of the Millenarians! Leaving, therefore, these Rules for the consideration of the erudite, profound, and inspired among the Students of Prophecy, we shall conclude the present article with a few desultory observations of a general nature.

In the first place, we wish to guard against the possibility of being understood to have any doubts as to the eventual recovery of Israel from that state of blindness which has befallen them, and their restoration to the Divine favour. Upon this point, it seems to us that the language of St. Paul is clear and decisive; nor can it be otherwise understood, Dr. Allix remarks, than of the nation’s being converted to the Christian religion, when the fulness of the nations is brought in. And this belief furnishes every motive to compassionate their present condition, and to labour for its melioration, that can be supplied by the doctrine of their literal restoration to Palestine. There is much good sense and good feeling in the following remarks.

‘Far be it from those who entertain this simple belief to be heedless of Israel’s welfare! No: remembering the glory that once pertained to them,—remembering all the benefits instrumentally derived from them, and, especially, that from them, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, “who is over all, God blessed for ever,” they are “beloved for the fathers’ sakes;” and the more abject their present condition, the more generously should we strive to soothe them in their exile, and to compensate them for their loss of temporal possessions. But let the efforts of Christian charity be made intelligently; let the end contemplated be clearly understood, and be pursued upon substantial grounds, and let the means employed be suitable.

‘Look at the wretched Jews—wretched, not more sensibly so, perhaps, than the great majority of Gentiles, but wretched more than others, by their mental degradation, and wretched, in comparison with their favoured ancestry. What is the present and perpetuating cause of their wretchedness?—Their disbelief of Christianity. Why are they a bye-word among the nations? Not because they are exiles, but because they are Jews. Why are they less privileged as subjects and as citizens? and what is the source of all the invidious distinctions that constitute their temporal degradation?—They are *Jews*! Talk to them of their nation’s return to Palestine, what does it avail?—It elevates them not—it relieves not a want—it removes not a woe—it breaks not a fetter. The Jew is a Jew still. His eye may brighten for a moment at the distant prospect of his nation’s glory, and, by anticipation, he may live in his posterity; but soon it sinks again in apathy, or roves in search of some present good. But, aim at his con-

version, there is plain, unquestionable duty, and its own sweet reward in the act; and, if effected, all that is truly worthy of desire in the end. The Jew becomes a *Christian*, and Christianity describes the circle of his wishes. Dissipate the delusions of Judaism, and the manacles that bound him in the prison-house of woe are broken. Then he waits not for uncertain happiness, and transitory, however certain; his heart dreams not of an earthly inheritance that must soon be left; but he has blessings in possession, an eternal inheritance inalienably secured. But is not the prospect of brighter days to Palestine his solace in his wanderings? And would you rob him of this sole comfort? I would make no allusions whatever to his expectations on that subject, either one way or the other; because, if they were groundless, I might help to confirm him in error, if my views accorded with his own; and should needlessly assail his prejudices, whether groundless or not, if I expressed an opinion in opposition to them. I would attack no prejudice not directly necessary to be removed; but preaching only "Jesus," I would leave the glories opened by the truth, to their own eclipsing influence.' pp. 152—156.

Our second observation relates to the representations of Mr. Cuninghame and others, relative to the salutary influence of their peculiar notions respecting the approaching Advent of our Lord, which they suppose is to usher in the Millennium. If it be thus near at hand, then, remarks Mr. C., 'a great proportion of the generation now alive upon earth may actually witness his appearing.' Our belief is, that not only a great proportion, but every individual of this generation, and of all former, all future generations *shall* witness his appearing. And yet, Mr. Cuninghame would claim for his *peradventure*, a more salutary efficiency than our certainty.

'Shall we be told,' he asks, 'that such a persuasion as this would produce no effect in awakening the secure, in alarming and filling with terror such of the ministers of Christ as have been either slumbering or sleeping at their posts, or have been minding earthly things rather than heavenly? . . . And say whether this would not give a more intense tone of solemnity and pathos to your denunciations of the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; and whether it would not infuse a new pathos, a new tenderness of spirit into your handling of the doctrine of reconciliation, while, standing as it were upon the threshold of eternity, you pointed to the cross of Christ for the last time, as the only refuge of a perishing world.' pp. xvi, xvii.

Making every due allowance for individual peculiarities, we say, no. A dying man preaching to dying men, requires but to realize his own responsibility and their condition, in order to have every emotion of tenderness, every feeling of earnestness awakened, of which his nature is susceptible. Our Leightons, and Baxters, and Whitfields, have not been Millenarians. *Their* zeal did not require the deleterious stimulant of fanaticism. If the ministers of our own day are slumbering at their

posts, it does not arise from any insufficiency in the motives for vigilance and laboriousness, which are involved in the creed they hold, but from the decay of faith itself. Mr. Cuninghame mistakes the matter altogether, when he ascribes to a mere opinion, the efficacy of a living principle of faith. A man may hold opinions, as we see every day, which shall have little or no influence upon his conduct. Every man knows that his death is certain, the period uncertain; and almost every one admits, that, after death, there is "the judgement." Will Mr. Cuninghame maintain, that this persuasion has not a natural tendency to produce diligence to make sure our election of God? Yet, "all men have not faith," and the most awful and stirring truths fall upon the ears of the dead. In like manner, a man may be brought to embrace the Millenarian hypothesis, may believe that he stands a chance of being alive at our Lord's second advent, and his imagination may even be powerfully excited by the expectation; while his conduct shall remain totally uninfluenced by the practical considerations connected with his new opinion, because he is not the subject of that Divine principle which alone purifies the heart, and overcomes the world. Opinion, we repeat it, is not faith. The disease of the times is not speculative, but practical unbelief, which the nostrums of Millenarianism have no power to remedy.

But the effect of their doctrines, we know to be the very reverse of that which Mr. Cuninghame attributes to them. Of his own sincere piety and philanthropy we entertain no suspicion; but he has associated and identified himself with individuals of a different spirit,—with men who hold, that 'Satan will never be made to give up his reign *by any preaching of the Gospel*';*—that 'the doctrine of the Atonement hath swallowed up every other doctrine, and become the great indulgence of ignorance and idleness';†—that '*more truth is to be found in popery*, buried under the rubbish with which it has been smothered, than in *Evangelicism*'.‡ Truly, these are the men to handle the ministry of reconciliation with new tenderness, and to point sinners to the cross of Christ!

The tendency of the Millenarian delusion has, in former times, been repeatedly illustrated upon a broad scale. On its first appearance, at the beginning of the third century, at Arsinœ in Egypt, it is said to have 'gained such ground among the Christians, that it banished from their thoughts the most important precepts of their religion;' and in alliance with the gross doctrines of Cerinthus, and the puerilities of Papias and Nepos, it had the most unhappy effect upon the Church at

* Dial. on Proph. iii. 176.

† Irving's Fast Sermon, p. 18.

‡ Def. of Students of Prophecy, p. 57.

large. In the tenth century, the prevailing notion that the end of the world was at hand, contributed to give rise to the madness of the Crusades. In the seventeenth century, the epidemic frenzy of the fifth-monarchy men, 'the proud turbulence of political interpretation,' was allied to the same delusion. And in the present day, Millenarianism is discovering its inherent tendency to incorporate with itself errors far more pernicious than itself;—the denial of the consciousness of the separate spirit,—the Antinomian heresy,—the blasphemous attribution of evil to the Divine will and working,—the depreciation of evangelical preaching—the claim, on the part of more than one of its doctors, to inspiration,—and the crowning folly and impiety of one of their Writers, *that the day of judgement is past**. In some of the cases we allude to, Millenarianism would seem to be the offspring—in others, the parent of the error or errors with which it has become amalgamated; and, in some instances, it might almost be said to have taken with itself seven other spirits more wicked than itself.

The Author of the "Defence" complains, however, of Dr. Hamilton for having adverted to the wild opinions of certain students of prophecy upon other subjects, in order to create an unjust prejudice against them; and he would fain tie us down to the subject of the Millennium. This complaint indicates a sore feeling, which we are not sorry to perceive; but we must remind Mr. H. D., that it comes with a very ill grace from parties who, instead of confining themselves to the study of prophecy, or to the assertion of their opinions respecting the Millennium, include all subjects, theological, ecclesiastical, and political, within the range of their oracular decisions, and launch out sweeping invectives and calumnies against the Evangelicals, the Liberals, the Dissenters, the Reviewers, the hireling pastors, and the whole religious world. That the controversy is not confined to the Millenarian theory, who are to blame but the Millenarians themselves? This gentleman tells Dr. Hamilton, that,

'Several clergymen, as well Dissenters as in the Church, have received personal insults and coarse language, even in some instances amounting to cursing, from their evangelical brethren, such as no other branch of doctrine can, in these days, draw forth from the openly profane. When, in addition to this new information, you refer again to the pages of the Evangelical, Congregational, Eclectic, and Edinburgh Theological Magazines, and to your own book, you will indeed per-

* See Hamilton on Millenarianism, pp. 96. 330. Thom's "Three Questions." p. 88. Eclectic Review for January, pp. 17, 18. *Ibid.* Second Series, Vol. XXVII. p. 329. Vol. XXX. p. 205.

ceive, that this subject has elicited an acrimony which no other has had power to do.' p. 117.

If we might judge of the credibility of the former part of this statement, from the accuracy of the latter part, we might safely dismiss the whole representation as totally unfounded. Mr. H. D. must, we feel persuaded, have been grossly misinformed. As regards the pages of our own Journal, he could not have made an assertion more uncalled for and unjust. Let him turn for himself to the articles which have appeared in the former series of the Eclectic Review, on the publications of Mr. Noel, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Cuninghame, and Mr. Stewart, and he will feel bound, as a Christian and a gentleman, to retract the charge. If he should deem our critical treatment of Mr. Irving an exception, we must remind him, that it is not the Millenarian notions of that personage that have provoked our severest animadversions. But, so far are we from pleading guilty to the charge of acrimony with respect to those animadversions, that we should deem ourselves culpable and deserving of our readers' contempt, had we met with tame and pusillanimous forbearance, his arrogant assumptions and pestilent fanaticism. We can assure Mr. H. D., that we would, for their own sakes, conciliate, far rather than offend, those individuals whose piety and benevolence we honour, while we deprecate and deplore their errors. But we must "make a difference." The Writers whom he enumerates as ranking among Millenarians, differ not less widely from each other in their temper and character, than they do in their creed. With regard to Mr. H. D. himself, he is perfectly welcome to enjoy, undisturbed by us, his enlightened preference of popery to evangelicalism,—of the *opus operatum* in baptism, to the opinion of Calvin with regard to the sacraments,—of the intolerance of the papists to civil and religious liberty,—and his paradoxical opinion, that

'America is the only nation in the world without a God. America has no national God. Christians living on its soil do not make it a Christian nation, any more than Turks living in England make the English nation Mahomedan. Turkey, Ava, China, and the Hottentots, are not so far removed from the truth in this matter as America and the London University; the great image before which our Liberals, Dissenters, and Evangelicals command us to fall down and worship.' p. 110.

Harmless monstrosities of opinion like these, we should never think of encountering with serious argument, or of opposing with ungenerous acrimony. They can do no harm, except to the party to which the writer has attached himself. In advert-ing to these and other aberrations of Millenarians, let it be observed, that we do not seek to prove that their opinions must

therefore be erroneous upon the original question, but simply to illustrate the uniform tendency of such notions to attract to themselves all sorts of floating error and epidemic absurdity.

Apart, however, from the accidental accompaniments of the Millenarian creed, we regard the doctrine itself as the offspring of Jewish error, repugnant to the genius of Christianity, hostile to all rational and Scriptural methods of propagating the Gospel, and adapted to weaken the influence of every consideration drawn from the joys or terrors of the world to come. By attempting to 'reduce heaven more palpably to the level of our comprehension and our hopes,' it operates a transmutation upon the object of our faith and hope, scarcely less debasing than that which the idea of the Deity suffers on being embodied in the image of corruptible man. It undertakes to bring the object nearer to the mind, but how does it do so? By substituting a kaleidoscope for a telescope,—by exhibiting the unreal, in place of the unseen, and interposing the gaudy illusions of earthly colouring between the eye of faith and eternity.

But to the believer, accustomed to dwell upon the animating assurance, that "if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,"—to believe, that when "absent from the body," he shall be "present with the Lord,"—to sympathize with the Apostle's desire to "depart and to be with Christ," as far better than living in the flesh,—to regard the things which are not seen as eternal, and eternity as ever near,—a condition of existence into which a moment may introduce the conscious spirit,—to such a one, the apocryphal revelation of the Millenarians is an insipid dream. He knows, that death will be, to himself at least, the end of prophecy, the great revealer of secrets. And while he can rejoice in the glorious prospect of the future triumphs of Messiah and his Church upon earth, and thence derive strong encouragement to abound in the work of the Lord, he looks forward, through all the scenes of this world's history, to the period when, at the trump of God, this mortal shall put on immortality, and death be swallowed up in victory,—when there shall be no more curse, and the saints of God shall serve him, and see his face, and reign in bliss for ever and ever.

Art. III. *Guatemala*, or the Republic of Central America in 1827-8: being Sketches and Memorandums made during a Twelvemonth's Residence. By Henry Dunn. 8vo. pp. 328. London, 1829.

TO persons already in possession of the very scanty information before the public respecting this central portion of the

New World, the additional particulars contained in the present volume will be peculiarly acceptable; and perhaps the mere novelty of the subject may engage the attention of the general reader, whom we can assure that Guatemala is a country deserving of being better known. Yet, hitherto, although the merchant has observed the name of the country affixed to '*Indigo*' in the Price Current, it has scarcely been recognized as an independent state.

Scarcely a single map points out its geographical situation with even tolerable correctness, and, with the exception of a translation of Juarros's Statistical History, no information has been offered to the public respecting its interior condition. A condensed and very well written sketch prefixed to one of the volumes of the *Modern Traveller*, might also be excepted; but, as it does not refer to the present state of the country, the deficiency is not supplied. Yet, on the shores of this very territory, an English settlement has flourished for above twenty years; and sixteen thousand tons of British shipping are annually employed in carrying on its commerce. This fact alone justifies the attempt to diffuse a more enlarged acquaintance with its political circumstances and the manners of its inhabitants.

The fact is, that, with the exception of some scattered information furnished by Humboldt, and the very incorrect statements in Alcedo's Dictionary, Juarros is almost our only authority*; and the Editor of the *Modern Traveller*, while compelled to follow him, has pointed out many of his details which require to be verified. We regret exceedingly that Mr. Dunn does not appear to have been in possession of the work he refers to, during his residence in Guatemala, as it would so materially have assisted his inquiries, and enabled him to render an important service, by correcting, on the spot, any errors into which the Editor has been led by his authorities. The account of Guatemala is not a sketch prefixed to any volume of the *Modern Traveller*, but a compendious description of the country, appended to the second volume of Mexico, embodying the whole of the information contained in Juarros's valuable but tedious and ill-arranged work, together with additional details drawn from other sources. One important object which such a publication as the *Modern Traveller* is adapted to promote, is that of guiding and facilitating the researches of future travellers. Comprising within a small compass the substance of the topographical and general information to be obtained from every accessible source up to a definite period, it indicates at the same time the points upon which further inquiry may be

* See, for a critical notice of the English translation of Juarros, *Ecl. Rev.*, Vol. xxiii. p. 307.

most advantageously employed. Too frequently it happens, that the traveller or resident in a foreign country is not aware, till after his return, of the most interesting questions which remain to be solved, or of the objects most deserving of his attention.

Guatemala presents little that is interesting in either its history, monuments, or population; but the geological structure and natural phenomena of the country are peculiarly deserving of investigation. No Humboldt, Mr. Dunn remarks, has traversed these unknown regions; 'and, excepting from the statements of natives, often strangely inaccurate, no account of the elevations of its mountains or information respecting its volcanic phenomena, can possibly be collected.' Enough, however, is known, to lead us to suppose, that the range of lofty mountains which overlook the shores of the Pacific between the parallels of 14° and 15° , form an immense vault over the subterranean depositories of combustible materials which supply the volcanic furnaces.

'Besides the three-peaked Volcan de Fuego, situated in the valley of Guatemala, which has at various periods injured and overthrown the old city, and which still emits smoke, and sometimes flame,—seven others may be said to continue in a state of activity. Tajumulco, in the province of Quezaltenango; Izalco, near Sonzonate; Momotombo and Mazaya, in Nicaragua; St. Vincent and San Salvador, in the state of the same name, frequently cast out flames, accompanied by copious discharges of calcined substances. Atitan, situated in one of the interior provinces, and near to the lake which bears its name, had remained for many years inactive, when, on the 1st of September, 1827, a loud, rumbling noise announced the working of this stupendous furnace; which immediately began to vomit out smoke and sand in such immense quantities as to darken the sky for several hours. Lights were procured in the neighbouring villages, and prayers offered, till its violence had in some degree subsided. This eruption was accompanied with an earthquake, which was severely felt, not only in the neighbourhood, but at a very great distance.' p. 267.

In returning from Guatemala to the shores of the Pacific, Mr. Dunn passed between the two celebrated volcanoes which rise to the south of the old city.

'In this situation, the mountains exhibit themselves in aspects singularly interesting; the one, towering to a height of above fourteen thousand feet, presents a rich and diversified soil, clothed with verdure to the very summit, and girded by a belt of thick forests; the other, rising to an elevation equal, if not superior, exhibits its three bare and rugged peaks covered with dried lava and ashes, still trembling under the workings of the mighty furnace within, and breathing out a column of pale blue smoke, which perpetually ascends from its crater. The contrast is striking: the horrible and the beautiful in nature are

not often to be met with so closely united, or linked together, as these are by the junction of their bases. The greater part of the road between the two, bears evident marks of the violent shocks to which it has been subject: immense chasms, formed by the opening of the hills, still remain in the rude state in which nature left them when she convulsively tore them asunder; huge stones seem to have been hurled in every direction, and lie in the wildest confusion; while in some parts, the deep bed of ashes and cinders and scorified lava, which at different times have been vomited forth, produce an appearance of desolation, strangely opposed to other parts closely contiguous. In these latter, the volcanic substances which only lightly strewed the ground, have been covered by a new strata of decomposed vegetable matter, over which trees and shrubs have spread themselves, and aromatic plants now shed forth their fragrance.' pp. 317—19.

The curate of San Juan Alotenango, a village at the foot of the mountain, told Mr. Dunn, that he had made the attempt, in company with a friend, to ascend the Volcan de Fuego, but that when they had climbed about half way, the ascent became so precipitous, and the trembling of the mountain so excessive, that they were obliged to relinquish their purpose.

'The last eruption of this volcano took place about two years ago, when flames issued from the crater, and ascended to an immense height; great quantities of stones and ashes were cast out towards the west; and the race of monkeys who inhabit the neighbouring woods, were almost extirpated.'—p. 319.

Nor is Fire a much more tremendous or destructive agent, in this region, than Water. The original capital of the Spanish conqueror was overwhelmed in one night, by an immense flood poured down from the summit of the *Water Volcano*, upon the skirt of which the city was built. Mr. Dunn ascended this 'beautiful and gigantic mountain,' of which he gives a very interesting description. It is, like most of the volcanic summits, a perfect cone; its base is computed to be about eighteen leagues in circumference; and its height 14,500 feet. The crater measures 140 yards by 120. The first part of the ascent, from the convent at the foot of the mountain to the village of Santa Maria, at an elevation of 7500 feet, is gradual, and can be accomplished on a mule. Throughout this region, wheat may be cultivated with success; the soil is good, in some parts very rich, and a variety of rare plants (among others the tea-plant) grow among the shrubs which clothe the declivity. Beyond this point, the ascent becomes steep and painful; and up to an elevation of about 9000 feet, only a few scattered pines, two or three cherry-trees, and some wild apple-trees diversify the scene. But afterwards, the traveller enters the region of forests, consisting almost entirely of American oaks. The soil is here an exceedingly rich black loam. To this succeeds another dreary zone, where the keen

cold air sweeps over the bare sides of the mountain; till, at a still higher elevation, pines again present themselves, almost devoid of foliage and highly resinous: these extend to the very summit, and spread along the margin of the crater, amid the rocks and stones which are scattered round them. The whole ascent, by the road, is reckoned at from three to four leagues, and occupied the party from a little before day-light till about two P.M.

'The spacious crater is completely concave, and produces a powerful echo. Great numbers of huge stones, covered with moss and grass, are scattered over its surface, which is sterile and unproductive. The thermometer at two o'clock P.M., stood at 42° ; the difference between the base and the summit being about thirty degrees.'

That this is an extinct volcano, there can, as Mr. Dunn remarks, be no doubt; but, as its name indicates, no traditional account has been preserved of any eruption of fire or lava from its crater, the destruction of *Ciudad Vieja* being occasioned entirely by an immense discharge of water. It might have been conjectured, that the flood was produced by the overflow of a lake within the crater, suddenly increased by heavy rains, or owing to a rupture of the sides of the basin; but Mr. Dunn's description of the empty crater does not seem to sanction this idea. Unfortunately, the view from the summit was intercepted by a belt of clouds, surrounding the lower region of the mountain. On a favourable day, the view of the two oceans towards the north and south, the province of San Salvador towards the east, and the plains of Chiapa on the west, must be magnificent.

A very large proportion of the territorial surface of Guatemala is occupied by lakes, some of which are on a very elevated level. The most remarkable is that of Atitan, in the province of Solola, said to be eight leagues in length from east to west, and more than four leagues in breadth. Its sides are precipitous, and its depth is fathomless! At least, the bottom has not been found with a line of 300 fathoms. And although it receives several rivers, it has no visible outlet. The water, nevertheless, Juarros tells us, is *fresh*, and so cold that in a few minutes it benumbs and swells the limbs of those who attempt to swim in it. Mr. Dunn repeats this statement, but he had apparently no opportunity of ascertaining the truth of it. The lake has probably a subterranean communication with one whose surface is upon a lower level. In like manner, the lake of Metapa is believed to discharge its superfluous waters by a subterranean channel communicating with the lake of Guija. But the most remarkable Neptunean phenomena are the *intermittent rivers*, of which the following account is given in the *Modern Traveller*.

'Herrera, the historian, mentions a spring in the province of Chiapa,

which regularly flows during three years, and is then dry for a similar period, and thus alternately. This spring is said to be situated on the side of a mountain, about half a league from Ciudad Real. The rivulet is called *Yeixhikuiat*, a Mexican word signifying "three-years'-water." "At the expiration of the term of three years, the fountain dries up, and the waters burst forth at a place five leagues distant, near Teopisca. The natives of that village give this periodical spring the name of *Ohxavilha*, which, in the Tzendal language, means the same as the Mexican name. After this spring has flowed for three years, it disappears, and the water rises again at the former place." Such is the information obtained by Juarros from a resident in confirmation of Herrera's statement. Fuentes, he adds, gives another instance of a similar fountain near Chiantla, which flows and is dry for three years together alternately, with this additional peculiarity, that the waters appear and disappear invariably on the eve of St. Michael. "This writer declares, that he had in his possession documents written by Diego de Rivas, other monks of the order of *La Merced*, and several curates of unimpeachable character, attesting the fact. With a view to ascertain the correctness of this account, and whether the phenomenon yet existed, the present writer obtained the favour of a reference on the subject to a clergyman resident in the province, who, in reply, declared, that he had examined several old men of the village, all of whom assured him, with very little discrepancy in their narratives, that, in a hollow between two mountains, about three leagues from Chiantla, there is a rivulet which begins to flow on Michaelmas-day, and continues for three years, at the end of which it stops on the same day, and remains dry for three years; and on this account the place is called San Miguel." Who can resist the conviction, that the Saint himself is the worker of this triennial miracle? Fuentes mentions another rivulet, in a meadow to the northward of Chiantla, called *Higuero*, the waters of which begin to flow twenty days before the periodical rains cease, and become completely dry twenty days before the rains begin. He states also, that during the period that he was corregidor of Totonicapan, as he was travelling from Aguacatlan to San Juan Ixcay, "the channel of a little stream was pointed out to him, which the Mam Indians called *Xubanha*, implying *water that is whistled for*; because, by whistling at the openings of some clefts in a solid rock, water will immediately gush forth, of which there is no appearance unless that method be used to exhibit it." He speaks also of a subterranean river, that shews itself through a large aperture at the foot of a hill about two miles from the village of Chialchitan. At this spot, a large quantity of water "boils up", and forms at once a stream of considerable magnitude. Another river of moderate size falls into a deep pool, and disappears, near a place called *Rancho de las Minas*; it rises again on the opposite side of a ridge of mountains near the river Socoleo. From all these accounts, making due allowance for whatever inaccuracy or romance may have mingled itself with the facts, it is evident, that, in the heart of the mountains, there must exist a series of caverns and natural galleries, traversed by subterranean rivers,—such as M. Humboldt conjectures to exist in the limestone formation in the neighbourhood of Tehuilo-

tepec and Platanillo. For the periodical circulation of the waters, it is not easy to account; but the whole region is full of wonders, and might seem the theatre chosen by the genii of the watery element to display their fantastic feats. The water volcano, the fathomless lake of Atitlan, the triennial rivers, the dripping rocks, and the numerous hot springs, all seem to form connected parts of the stupendous hydraulic machinery.' *Modern Traveller*. Mexico. Vol. II. pp. 267—269.

Mr. Dunn makes no pretensions to the character of a scientific traveller, but his work abounds with information of both an entertaining and a useful description, which will be not less acceptable to the general reader. The contents of the volume are distributed into four parts. The first comprises an account of the Author's journey from the Bay of Honduras to the Capital. The second part is devoted to a description of the city itself, and the customs and manners of the inhabitants. The third contains a sketch of the history and statistics of the Republic. The last describes the Author's journey from Guatemala to the shores of the Pacific.

The past history of this kingdom, colony, and republic, may be given in a few words. Guatemala was conquered by Alvarado, Cortes's lieutenant, in the year 1524; and for nearly three centuries, the population, amounting to not more than 800,000 souls, were held by a handful of Spaniards in the most unresisting and complete subjection, body and soul. A lethargic calm pervaded the social system, corresponding to the unvarying equability of the temperature, and the mental feebleness and debility of the native race. Not more than from thirty to fifty soldiers were required to preserve the internal security of a kingdom, consisting of three episcopal sees, with an archbishop, and comprising 759 parishes, besides twenty-three bodies of regulars, and four establishments for the conversion of infidels; so completely did the spiritual militia of the Church supersede the necessity of any other standing army! In the beginning of the year 1812, feverish symptoms had manifested themselves in some of the provinces; and in 1815, a slight insurrection took place in Leon, but it was immediately suppressed, its leaders being sent prisoners to Spain. From 1816 to 1819, a discontented feeling at various times displayed itself, and secret meetings began to be held, in order to arrange plans for improving a favourable opportunity of declaring Guatemala independent of Spain.

While these events were taking place in Guatemala, the flame of independence had broken forth in more than one quarter of the New World; and by the year 1821, the fate of Mexico was decided. Every post brought intelligence of the proceedings of the patriots in New Spain; and the fermentation which such intelligence naturally produced on the minds of the people, became universal. In this extremity

arrived Gavino Gainza, appointed by the Cortes of Spain, bringing with him the news of the recent political changes in the Peninsula, and the establishment of the Constitution. Invitations now poured in from Ciudad Real, and other quarters. The leading families and most influential members of the church met together; and, after various private meetings, in which Gainza took a part, they publicly proclaimed the independence on the 15th of September 1821, amid the shouts of the populace. A proclamation was then issued, and a resolution entered into to call a General Congress for the 1st of March following: in the mean time a provisional government was formed, consisting of a council composed of individuals belonging to the different provinces; of which Gainza should be president.' pp. 187, 8.

'This was followed by a second manifesto to the provinces, inviting them to elect representatives in the proportion of one for every fifteen thousand inhabitants, not excluding the Coloured population from the rights of citizenship; and assuring them, that, until this Congress should meet, and form the basis of a constitution, no change should take place in the authorities; and that it should be a fundamental principle, to keep the Catholic religion unchanged, and to preserve that pious spirit for which Guatemala had always been distinguished. To these notices was added a signification of the intention to coin a medal in celebration of the event, and to hold a solemn Mass. This paper bears the date of the 16th September, and is also signed by Gainza.

'That the Congress was called together in good faith, there is no doubt, notwithstanding that subsequent events prevented its union.'

p. 191.

Soon after the publication of these proclamations, Iturbide contrived to seat himself on the throne of Mexico, and some of the provinces of Guatemala united themselves to the neighbouring empire. Gainza retired to Mexico, where he was taken ill, and died. In the mean time, the province of San Salvador, the richest in the kingdom, and which had been the first to receive liberal ideas, revolting against the ignominious annexation of the provinces to the new Mexican empire, formed a provisional government of its own. A feeling of jealousy, amounting to enmity, had long existed between this province and that of Guatemala, and it now assumed the form of a civil contest. The government of Guatemala, fearing an attack, sent troops against the insurgents, but they met with a repulse.

'In this emergency, they applied to General Filisola, who, with a body of Mexican troops, was in Ciudad Real. On his arrival in Guatemala, he was reinforced with the troops of the province, and marched for San Salvador on the 1st of October 1822, at this time defended by a powerful army under the command of Arcé, the present president of the Federation. Filisola lay before the city four months; and on the 7th of February 1823, took it without much bloodshed. But arms cannot subdue opinion. Filisola soon found that the junction was too unpopular to be maintained. A proclamation, bearing his name, appeared on the 29th of March 1823, re-convoking the General Congress;

and on the 24th of June following, this body for the first time assembled, and took the name of Constituent Assembly. To this congress each of the states sent deputies, with the exception of Chiapa and Nicaragua. The former remained firm in its adherence to Mexico; and the latter, torn to pieces by civil dissensions, was in too distracted a state to make the election. The disturbances were, however, quelled by the troops of San Salvador, and deputies from Nicaragua joined the congress. One of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly, after the nomination of an Executive, was to publish a decree declaring "these provinces independent of Spain, Mexico, and every other power, either of the old or new world." This decree is dated July 1, 1823.

'Filisola at this period was appointed commandant-general of the army, and political chief (*gefe politico*). Soon after this appointment, however, he returned to Mexico; and the troops which had accompanied him from Ciudad Real were withdrawn at the same time.' pp. 193, 4.

The Congress, now uncontrolled, published on the 17th of December the basis of its future constitution, and declared Guatemala a federal republic, comprising the five states of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, under the denomination of the United Provinces of Central America. For the details of the Constitution, we must refer the reader to the volume before us. The discussions of the Congress, during its first sittings, assumed a tone so moderate and liberal, as to reflect the highest honour upon its members; but the restless and intriguing spirit of the aristocracy and the church soon obtained a fatal ascendancy in the councils of the Federation. The consequence was an open rupture between the two factions; the deputies from San Salvador withdrew; the Congress broke up; and the civil war was renewed. The struggle was at first favourable to the Federalists, but eventually the reins of government were assumed by the aristocracy. Mariano Aycinena, a respectable merchant connected with the old families, was installed Chief of the State on the 1st of March, 1827, and the liberal party in the State of Guatemala were subdued. This man, Mr. Dunn says, is the mere tool of the Church; his talents are below mediocrity, and his public conduct has served only to prove his incapacity for the office to which he has been raised.

The calm which succeeded to the triumph of the aristocracy, was not of long continuance. Fresh occasion for mutual jealousy soon occurred, and insurrections broke out in Honduras, Nicaragua, and San Salvador. In the first of these states, the revolt was soon suppressed; and the forces of the second were rendered inoperative by internal commotions; but San Salvador again assumed a threatening and formidable attitude, and on the 16th of March, 1827, its troops appeared before the gates of the capital.

‘All the inhabitants were ordered to take arms; and the friars, bringing out the images of the saints, headed troops of women, who with drawn knives vowed destruction on all who should attempt to overthrow their religion. The excitement of the moment proved sufficient; the San-Salvadorians were defeated, and retired in confusion.

‘From that period to the end of the year, the war continued with various success: many battles were fought; but with so little spirit, and under such wretched direction, that no important results followed. A military spirit could not be infused into the people; and the troops, composed of recruits forced into the service, deserted their colours the first favourable opportunity. Battles were pompously announced in the gazettes, in which two were killed, and three horses wounded; and a long bulletin of the taking of St. Ana (which had previously been evacuated by the enemy) announced the capture of three horses and one sabre!

‘Under such circumstances, the contest assumed rather the appearance of a childish quarrel, than the struggle of opposing states. But although the war thus languished, its effects upon the prosperity of the country were perhaps more disastrous than would have followed from a more profuse effusion of human blood: commerce was altogether suspended, and agriculture neglected; while contribution after contribution drained the city, and ruined the inhabitants. The state of the public finances was at this time as wretched as can be imagined. After the different imposts had been exhausted, and the maintenance of the army still became necessary, forced loans were resorted to; and merchants, in the space of twelve months, were in this way taxed to the amount of five or six thousand dollars each. Nor was the money thus collected wisely expended. Commissions in the army speedily became a traffic in families connected with the government; and troops thus officered presented an appearance not unlike Hogarth's celebrated picture of the March to Finchley.’ pp. 212, 13.

According to accounts as late as August last, the insane contest still continues without any hope of accommodation. To add to the desperate state of affairs, discord reigns within the capital; and the aristocratical party have declared their determination to fight no more for the Federation, but only for the interests of the State of Guatemala. ‘To speculate on future changes,’ remarks Mr. Dunn, ‘would be idle.

‘Should the Salvadorians prevail, an ultra-liberal government will be established; and the old Spaniards, and the leading aristocratical families, with a great portion of the clergy both regular and secular, will be expatriated. Should the Guatemalian party, on the other hand, succeed, they will probably establish a Central Republic, of which Mariano Aycinena will be president, and the Pope prime patron. Both of these designs may, however, be frustrated by the interference of Mexico or Colombia; in which case, Guatemala and Honduras will probably adhere to the former; and Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa-Rica fall into the hands of the latter.’ p. 219.

Eventually, we imagine, this division of the Central Provinces between Mexico and Colombia, must take place: it would be the wisest scheme for settling the ruinous contest.

Art. IV. *A New Translation and Exposition of the very ancient Book of Job*; with Notes explanatory and philological. By the Rev. John Fry, B.A. Rector of Desford, Leicestershire. 8vo. pp. xxviii. 551. Price 12s. London, 1827.

THE great number of biblical critics and interpreters who have employed their talents and learning on the Book of Job, affords in itself a sufficient testimony to its character, as one of the most remarkable and interesting of the productions which are included in the sacred Scriptures. And if the means of determining the critical questions which relate to it were in proportion to the zeal and industry of the writers who have investigated them, it would present but little perplexity to a modern reader. In the form both of Versions and of Commentaries, the additions to the catalogue of the older Expositors of this book, which are of recent date, are very considerable. Modern authors, however, have made but little advance in the critical illustration of the difficulties and obscurities which attach to its literary history. Not having been able to discover any new facts which might assist in guiding them to other conclusions than those already before them, the opinions and observations which they offer to us are, for the most part, merely a repetition of those which were published by their predecessors. It is not a little curious, in collating the opinions of the writers who have selected this book as an exercise for their critical talents, to observe the extravagant hypotheses which some of them have advanced, and the weakness of the arguments which are adduced in their support; the agreements, in respect to some particulars, between writers who, on the most singular points, are in dissonance with each other; and the unprofitable expenditure of erudition and labour which has been lavished, in order to gratify the waywardness of genius, rather than the intelligence of sober scholars and divines. Both Warburton and Michaelis deny that the Book of Job is a real history. But they differ very widely in their views of its author and design. The former will allow it no other character than that of an allegorical and dramatic composition, which he supposes to have been written by Ezra in the period immediately subsequent to the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and intended to solace and encourage them in the circumstances which attended their re-instatement in Judea. By Michaelis, it

is considered as a grand poetic fable, probably written by Moses; and, in assigning his reasons for this opinion, he is so rash as to assert, that it is more instructive as a fable, than it could possibly be as a true history. The author of the book, and the country and age in which he lived, are only to be conjectured from the circumstances which it details; and these, as they are available evidence in reference to these particulars, are few and indeterminate. As to the design of the book, our means of judging are less scanty; they are supplied by the entire contents of the work; but, in respect even to this point, there is considerable diversity in the conclusions which different writers have formed.

Mr. Fry has adopted the notion of those translators and expositors who attribute the composition of the work to Job himself, and assign the date of it to a period preceding the call of Abraham. There is, however, evidently no connection between the early existence of the book, and its being written by the individual who is the principal subject of it. In whatever age it was first known in its present form, the facts and the conversations which it comprises, might have been preserved in the knowledge of other persons, and transmitted to the times of the writer; as the history of the transactions which relate to Joseph was composed by Moses, the author of the Pentateuch, who was certainly not the contemporary of the son of Jacob. It is vain to expect that any researches can lead us to a knowledge of the author.

With Mr. Fry's character as a Translator and Expositor of Scripture, our readers are already acquainted. Our review of his Version of the Psalms shewed him to be a devout, but by no means a judicious interpreter of the language and design of the Sacred writers. In the work before us, the evidence of his piety is equally apparent; but the influence of the arbitrary and fanciful system which was, in his former production, allowed to determine the arrangement and import of the sacred text, is but too conspicuous in these pages. When we find in Biblical Expositors a prevailing disposition to divest the very plainest passages of their literal meaning, and to represent them as including a mystical application, we may anticipate the manner in which they will deal with words and phrases the signification and use of which may be less obvious. In more than one portion of the volume before us, the Author refers to Genesis iii. 20. in a very extraordinary manner, which we may here notice, as an instance of the kind of treatment which the Bible receives from some of its most devoted readers. "Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living." Now in any other book, the direct meaning of this sentence would not be questioned, and the reason of the appellation

would appear at once to a plain reader. 'Mother of all living' denotes nothing more than female ancestor of all persons born into the world; and as this relation was to be sustained by Eve, she received on that account the name, which signifies life-giver. But, according to Mr. Fry, the words, 'mother of all living', refer to the 'mystery of redemption in the death and quickening life of the Redeemer.' (p. 226.) Adam knew that in himself all would die, but in the 'woman's seed' would all be made alive, and hence the name Eve! But if a sense so recondite be involved in such a passage, the Bible must of all books be the most perplexing and enigmatical.

In Mr. Fry's hands, the Book of Job is so replete with spiritual and evangelical instruction, and so much resembles the later depositories of revealed truth, that we may well be surprised to find so few references or allusions to this book in the New Testament. To Mr. F.'s system and to some of his notions, we should probably offer no objection in some other applications of them; but their frequent introduction in the pages before us, in connection with the subjects of the Book, do not appear to us very happily adapted to promote the elucidation of this portion of the Sacred Scriptures.

The name by which the patriarch of Uz was known, is supposed by Mr. Fry to have been given to him on account of his trial and its results. Michaelis imagines, that the name of Job,—which, he says, means, in Arabic, to return to God and love him, and hate whatever is contrary to his nature,—is so adapted to the character of his latter years, that we can never suppose it to have been given to him by his parents, but that it was invented by the author of the poem. Mr. Fry, who believes in the real existence of the patriarch, thinks that the name was not originally borne by him, but was afterwards attached to him, to signalize him as a sufferer and penitent; and he refers to instances in which a change of names is mentioned as having taken place on remarkable occasions. There is no reason, however, for these conjectures. If the name had been substituted for a previous appellative, in order that it might stand as a memorial of an important transaction, (as Abram's name was changed into that of Abraham,) we should have found a record of the change, according to the uniform usage of the sacred writers. Mr. Fry very unnecessarily refines in his interpretation of the word rendered 'perfect' in the public version, by explaining it as referring to the soundness or purity of Job's faith. The term is used throughout as a general epithet of character, in reference to moral conduct. In Chap. viii. 20, persons to whom it is applied are opposed to 'evil doers', and in ix. 22, to 'wicked men.' Besides, Mr. Fry himself acknowledges, that the phrase, 'he feared God, and departed from evil', seems exegetic

or explanatory of perfect and upright; the former denoting that feeling of awe and reverence with which the worship and service of God must be attended by pious minds.

Mr. Fry at considerable length (pp. 4—35) descants on the use and import of the names by which, in the Book of Job, and generally in the Hebrew Scriptures, the Divine Being is known. Jehovah Elohim, which our Translators have rendered, the Lord God, ought not, he thinks, to be attempted to be translated. Elohim and Eloah, which they render God, are full of important mystery, and ought therefore to be preserved without change. The latter, we are told (p. 26), took its rise from an 'ante-mundane oath.' And, in conformity with these notions, Mr. Fry uniformly inserts the words Jehovah, Elohim, Eloah, in his Version, never using the translated terms. Into an examination of his remarks on these names, (particularly those which occur in the long note, p. 24—28,) we have no inclination to enter. His own positions might be shewn to be as incongruous with the doctrines of the Scriptures, as the assumption of the divines whom he opposes, of a covenanted promise and oath among the Three Persons of the Godhead. We deem it the less necessary to examine at large Mr. Fry's notions on these points, because we shall, we believe, be able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of every sober reader of the Bible, the entire erroneousness of the practice which he has adopted. The writers of the New Testament cannot certainly be regarded as fallacious guides in respect to any principle which they observe or sanction. Now their practice is altogether different from that of our Author. They uniformly translate the terms by which in the Old Testament Scriptures the Supreme Being is designated. In Deut. vi. 5, Jehovah Elohim occurs, and in Matt. xxii. 37, our Lord refers to the precept enjoined by the Mosaic law as the first and great commandment. Now in the Gospel, the Greek expressions *Κύριον τὸν Θεόν* are given as the representative of the Hebrew ones. So, again, in Exodus iii. 6, we have, "I am the God of Abraham",—Elohim of Abraham in the Hebrew text; but our Lord, in citing the passage, delivers it in the translated form, *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ*, I am the God of Abraham. Matt. xxii. 32. With these and many other examples before us, we must object to the course which Mr. Fry would impose upon the translators of the Bible, feeling ourselves justified in resisting the arguments which he derives from any real or supposed mystery in the terms in question. Who can approve such readings as the following?

'Who said unto El, "Depart from us,"

And, "What could Shaddai do for them?"' Chap. xxii. 17.

25. 'Ay, Shaddai shall be thy treasurer,
And silver piled up in heaps to thee.
26. For then shouldst thou make thee happy in Shaddai,
And shouldst lift up thy face to Eloah.

The following version of a part of Eliphaz's address, and the Translator's Comment, require some animadversions.

' Chap. iv.

13. ' Amid disturbed thoughts from visions of the night,
When deep sleep had fallen upon men,
14. A palpitation came on me, and a tremour,
And made the whole of my bones to shake !
15. And a spirit passed before me.
The hair of my flesh rose on end !
16. It stood still, but I could not discern its countenance,
A shape was before mine eyes ;
There was a stillness, and I heard a voice :
17. Shall a mortal be just before Eloah ?
Before his Maker shall man be cleared ?
18. Lo ! he retaineth not his ministers in their stations,
But on his angels doth visit defection.
19. And surely on ' these ' inhabitants of houses of clay,
The fabrication of which is from the dust !
Like the moth-worm are they breaking them up,
20. From morning to evening are they destroying ' them ',
Without any regarding, they are continually perishing !
21. Does not what remains of them within them, rush forth ?
They die, and attain not to wisdom.'

We shall place in comparison with this translation, the corresponding portion of the Public Version, arranged in a similar manner, previously to the remarks which we intend to offer on the verses.

13. In thoughts from the visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth on men,
14. Fear came upon me, and trembling,
Which made all my bones to shake.
15. Then a spirit passed before my face,
The hair of my flesh stood up :
16. It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof :
An image was before mine eyes :
There was silence, and I heard a voice, *saying*,
17. Shall mortal man be more just than God ?
Shall a man be more pure than his maker ?

18. Behold, he put no trust in his servants;
And his angels he charged with folly:
19. How much less *in* them that dwell in houses of clay,
Whose foundation *is* in the dust,
Who are crushed before the moth!
20. They are destroyed from morning to evening:
They perish for ever without any regarding *it*.
21. Doth not their excellency *which* is in them go away?
They die, even without wisdom.'

This translation will not merely bear comparison with the preceding, but is far superior to it in simplicity and force of description; while, in respect to fidelity of rendering, it is more exact. 'I could not discern the form thereof', is much more descriptive of the indefinite appearance of the awful monitor in the vision, than Mr. Fry's 'I could not discern its countenance'; and 'fear' and 'trembling' are better than 'palpitation', and 'tremour.' In the first member of the 18th verse, the reading 'Lo! he retaineth not his ministers in their stations', receives no countenance from the original words, הֵן בְּעֶבְרֵי לֹא יִשְׁמְךְ, which contain no term corresponding to 'stations', nor any verb answering to 'retaineth.' 'Does not what remains of them 'within them rush forth?' is an inexplicable sentence, and Mr. Fry's explanation makes it contradictory and absurd;—'their remainder in them; that which remains in them; the soul which 'survives the house of clay.' With the sense here attributed to the entire passage, our own view of it certainly does not accord; nor can we perceive from its connection any ground for such an interpretation as the following comment of the Author on the 17th and 18th verses.

'That is, considering the known and actual wickedness of the human race,—and perhaps striking at the unalarmed conscience of Eliphaz. Is it possible,—though men encourage themselves in a thought of impunity, because of the long-suffering of God—yet, is it possible that God should justify and clear these guilty mortals? Or, in reference to another great mystery of our religion, our justification through the righteousness of God our Saviour, and our cleansing through the purification sacrifice, in the covenant of our redemption, we may be warranted in rendering these lines: "Can a mortal be justified without Eloah? Without his Maker can man be cleansed?"

'We perceive the reasoning of the spirit, Will God justify sinful mortals, and clear them from guilt; or will he do so without their having an interest in the righteousness and gracious help of Eloah, their promised Redeemer, when angels, the ministering spirits before his throne, receive the just recompence of their sins?'

The address of Eliphaz, which was occasioned by the impas-

sioned complaints of Job, and which was intended as a reply to the representations which they included, must be explained by its relation to the circumstances which those complaints had brought forward for the consideration of the debaters in the controversy raised by the Temanite. The complaint of Job has no reference to any of the difficulties which the mind of an awakened person may contemplate in respect to the forgiveness of sin, or the acceptance of man with God; there could, therefore, be no pertinence in a reply which should refer to these topics. Nor does Eliphaz introduce them in his speech. His words, 'Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished being innocent? or where were the righteous cut off?' (ver. 7.) bring distinctly under our notice the subject of discussion by these Eastern sages. That subject is the righteous administration of the Divine Government. The complaints of Job are considered by the speaker to be reflections on the equitable proceedings of the Divine Being, as all complaining imports wrong and injury sustained by one party and inflicted by another. We agree, therefore, with Scott in his poetical version, and with other Commentators, that the lessons conveyed by the monitory spectre in the vision of the Temanite, are the absolute rectitude of God, and the impiety of arraigning the justice of his moral government. If man can utter his complaints against the Great Governor of the world, his own vindication is implied in expressions which impute wrong doing to his Maker; and the sense of the expository address, 'Shall mortal man be more just than God?' is strictly appropriate to the occasion of its being used. It is indeed described as being heard by Eliphaz alone in the stillness and solitude of night; but, unless it had been pertinent to the case of Job, it would not have been repeated. Nothing more seems to be meant (as Scott remarks) by the references in the 18th verse, than the imperfection of the most exalted spirits in comparison with the infinite perfection of the Divine Being. The words are a declaration of the majesty and purity of God, intended to instruct and humble the patriarch, and to silence his complaints. We are altogether surprised that Mr. Fry should render the Hebrew text of verse 18, 'Lo, he retaineth not his ministers in their station.' No rendering can be more unnatural and violent. The notion of displacing or removing from office, is not conveyed by the terms which are used; and the preposition *ו* clearly shews that the noun to which it is prefixed is not an objective case. In Chap. xv. 15, where we have a similar passage, Mr. Fry is so determined on accommodating its language to the support of his notion that the punishment of the fallen angels is intended, as to give the following version:

15. 'Lo, his consecrated ' ministers ' he would not confirm in their stations,
The heavens were not cleared in his sight.'

The original of the passage is—

הן בקרשיו לא יאמין
ושמים לא זכו בעיניו :

Which is literally rendered in the public version, 'Behold, He ' putteth no trust in his saints ; yea, the heavens are not clean ' in his sight.' The majesty and purity of God as the only independent and perfect Being, are described in this manner; and the object of the speaker is, evidently, to rebuke the presumption of Job in persisting to justify himself. ' Shall man, that frail and erring and impure child of earth, complain of the conduct, and question the rectitude of God ? ' That such is the design of the comparison, is, we think, evident from every passage in which it is introduced : the following instance is not less clear than the preceding example.

Chap. xxv.

1. ' Then answered Bildad the Shuhite and said ;
2. Dominion and fear are with him ;
He maketh peace in his high places.
3. Is there any number of his armies ?
And upon whom doth not his light arise ?
4. How then can a man be justified with God,
Or how can he be clean *that* is born of a woman ?
5. Behold even to the moon and it shineth not ;
Yea the stars are not pure in his sight.
6. How much less man *that* is a worm ?
And the son of man which is a worm ?

Now, here there is nothing that seems to be recondite. The majesty, the dominion, and the infinite perfection of God are represented in very sublime language by the Shuhite, who, as Scott remarks, thence infers what insufferable arrogance it indicates in a creature so frail and impure as man, to justify himself to God, and impeach the rectitude of his government. The heavenly bodies are here introduced as objects of comparison, as in the preceding example (Chap. xv. 15.), the clear and brilliant firmament in comparison with the majesty of the infinitely holy God, and the defectibility of man. But Mr. Fry has found another sense of the passage, on which he proceeds to comment in the following extraordinary manner.

- ' 5. " Look even unto the moon, and he will not pitch his tent,
" And the stars will not be cleared in the sight.

6. "What, truly, shall man, a moth?"

"And the son of man, a worm?"

'From the parallel places, Chap. iv. 18, and Chap. xv. 15, it is plain, that the judgement of the fallen angels is referred to—God held them not clear, 'angels that excelled in strength,' and shall sin not be visited on creatures so much inferior to angels? Behold, even unto the moon, there is no place regarded sufficiently pure for God to inhabit, or to uncover there his manifested presence; not even as far as the stars! It is remarkable that, in the parallel places, 'angels and heavens' are synonymes of 'stars' in this place:—and, "look even to the moon, and he will not pitch his tent," or, "inhabit," is the parallel of, "Lo, he confirmeth not his ministers in their stations," and of, "He confirmeth not in their stations his saints or consecrated ones." Does not this countenance the supposition, that the heavens, which are the abode of angels, include all from the surface of the earth to the remoter stars; and that the fallen angels have their residence or sphere of action nearest this earth which we inhabit; for aught we know, throughout the solar system, or a great part of it? And may not this illustrate what St. Paul says of Satan?—"the prince of the power of the air:"—and that of our Lord, "I saw Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven."

'—That he will not pitch the tent of his manifested presence in these polluted regions! doubtless that tabernacle which is to be with men hereafter, when glorified men shall come "with the Lord from heaven;" when the heavenly places shall have been purified with their better sacrifices, and Satan and his angels shall be cast out,—that tabernacle, of which the Mosaic was a type; and, no doubt, the cherubim, that seemed to keep the divine presence at the expulsion of man from Paradise,—all were emblematical of "the glory that is to be brought to us at the revelation of Jesus Christ," whom, we are told, we are "to meet in the air;" when he will not only "judge the kings of the earth upon the earth," but also "the hosts of high ones that are on high,"—when we, according to his promise, look for a "new heaven," as well as "a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."—A "world to come," not subject to angels, but to risen and glorified saints, who sit down with the Redeemer on his throne, where He will appear in his kingdom, the "image of the invisible God," as well as "the first-born of every creature"; and "heaven and earth shall be filled with his glory," the "glory of the only-begotten Son of God"; "Immanuel," "God with us," "the manifested JEHOVAH!"—when all his foes shall have been made his footstool; and, as another oracle has declared, "there shall be abundance of peace, so long as the sun and moon endureth;" ay, "thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever"; thou art Jehovah!

pp. 318—320.

Mr. Fry's version is not only replete with unusual interpretations of the text of this remarkable book, such as are not to be reconciled with either its spirit or details, but it is sometimes distinguished by the exercise of a very extraordinary caprice in the arrangement of the text. A violent disruption of sen-

tences, and alterations of the position of passages, are generally to be suspected as the resource of critics anxious to obtain the readings favourable to some hypothesis which they are labouring to establish. Of this character is the mode in which Mr. Fry has disposed of a part of the xivth Chapter, and which we shall proceed to notice as a very striking example of the licence in which some persons can indulge themselves, whose reverence for the Scriptures is not to be doubted, when some cherished notion of their own is to be supported, and the sacred text, as it stands, will not serve their purpose. The whole of the sentences in the following passage, are, in the original, and in all other versions, so connected, and are so constantly presented as a distinct period, that the reader must be surprised to find them given in a divided state.

13. 'O that thou wouldest hide me in the grave,
That thou wouldest keep me secret till thy wrath be past,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me!'

In the version of Mr. Fry, the last line is separated from the preceding two, and is made the commencement of the 14th verse, which he gives and translates as follows.

14. 'That thou wouldest appoint a fixed time, and remember me,
When there shall die a MAN that shall live;
All the days of my appointed time will I patiently wait,
Till my reviving comes.'

To Mr. Fry, this may seem intelligible language; his readers, however, who may not have the same facility of comprehending his version of the passage, will require another guide than his own comment, to assist their perceptions of its meaning:—
'Through that *blessed Man* that should "once die to sin", and "live" to "die no more", Job was still persuaded, that there 'would be a reviving for him into a better life.' If this be the import, the passage is unlike every other in the Scriptures which has reference to the subject of a life to come. Job must have known that there was a fixed time appointed, and that he would be remembered, if such sentiments had had a place in his mind, as Mr. F. supposes; and he would not, therefore, have given utterance to any wish of this kind. We cannot imagine how the Author of this strange version could consider the patriarch as wishing that God would appoint him a fixed time when the Messiah should die; nor can we at all conceive of any substantial reasons for departing from the generally received reading. The arrangement of the sentences in the public version is the correct one. The whole tenor of the discourse shews, that the patriarch expresses himself in respect to the impossibility of man's returning to life again in this world;

and the opening sentence of the 14th verse, "If a man die, shall he live again?" does but convey in an interrogatory form the sentiment which he had previously uttered; that a restoration to life is not, like the revival of a tree which germinates a second time, after being cut down, an event to be hoped for.

The celebrated passage, Chap. xix. 25—27, is rendered by Mr. Fry in conformity with the current interpretation given by those translators who consider it as descriptive of the resurrection from the grave; but, as might be expected from the singularity of his readings in other important examples, with some remarkable variations.

25. ' " That I do know my Living Redeemer ;
That at the end, he shall stand upon earth :
26. ' " And after I awake, shall this be brought to pass,
That I shall see Eloah of my flesh ",
27. ' Inasmuch as I myself shall behold him mine,
And mine eyes shall see him, and not as a stranger ;
The desires of my heart will be fulfilled.'

An examination of this version in comparison with the original and with former translations, would require an extended series of critical remarks, which we have no inclination to inflict upon our readers; but, lest any of them should not perceive Mr. Fry's meaning in the expression, 'Eloah of my flesh', we must inform them, that he explains it as meaning, 'Eloah who 'has taken man's nature upon him'; and he has no doubt that this is the meaning of the original. We judge the reading of the public version to be the more appropriate one. His reading is altogether inadmissible, the only sense which accords with the Hebrew idiom being the common rendering.

At Chap. xxx. 20, the rendering of the public version, "I cry unto thee, and thou dost not hear me: I stand up, and thou regardest me not":—is thus very unnecessarily altered by Mr. Fry.

- ' I have cried unto THEE, but thou wouldst not hear me ;
I knelt, but thou wouldst not regard me.'

In his note he remarks:—literally 'I stand'; 'but it is the 'attitude of prayer that is designated.' Whatever might be designated, a word which invariably means 'I stand', should not be translated 'I knelt.' Moreover, kneeling is not, as Mr. Fry's note would seem to imply, the exclusive attitude of prayer. He had forgotten our Lord's direction to his disciples, Mark xi. 25, "And when ye stand praying, forgive"; and the publican in the temple, who stood afar off, and smote upon his breast, saying, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" Standing was, among the Hebrews, a common attitude of prayer.

' Chap. xxxii. 2. ' Against Job was his anger kindled, because he had justified himself before Elohim.'

In a note to this passage, Mr. Fry refers us to the Septuagint version as rendering, *ἐναντίον Κυρίου*, in opposition to, as the adverse party to the Lord. Mr. Fry gives us the Greek of the Septuagint, but not its English equivalent, which is ' before the ' Lord', *coram Domino*.

The passages in which Mr. Fry finds the doctrine of a life to come and the resurrection of the dead declared, will startle even those readers who have been accustomed to consider the book as not silent on these topics. He represents the patriarch of Uz as being at all times under the persuasion that he should enter upon a blessed immortality; affirming, that he cherished the hope of a blessed resurrection, and that he never loses sight of the hope of a resurrection to eternal life through his Redeemer. We have furnished one singular specimen of his mode of extorting from the text the sense which he delivers as the true one; and we have again before us an equally striking example of the facility with which the most untoward texts can be modelled into a resemblance with others which have been similarly treated. In the public version, Chap. xxxvi. 20, reads as follows: " Desire not the night, when people are cut off in their place." Mr. Fry reads very differently:

' Long not for the night,

But for the ascending of the people from their abode below.'

' This is spoken', he remarks, ' in reproof of the eager desire which Job had several times expressed for his death—Long not for the night of death—that " night when no man can work." Let not this be the object of desire, but rather long for the resurrection of the dead, when the dead shall leave their unknown abodes in the regions below.'

But what occasion could there be to administer this reproof to Job, and to exhort him to long for the resurrection, when, as Mr. Fry repeatedly asserts, he never lost sight of the hope of a blessed immortality, and was constantly setting before himself the final advent of the Redeemer to raise the dead? Mr. Fry has certainly, in putting this admonition into the lips of Elihu, as part of his address to Job, overlooked the consistency which is necessary in correct interpretation; and this, at least, is one passage in which the office of the theological annotator has been exercised at the expense of critical reputation. No Hebrew scholar could ever find in the words, the sense which Mr. Fry's version ascribes to them. There is no word for ' But' in the original; the particle which gives the first line a negative meaning, must therefore give a negative meaning to the second, to which its power extends. With Mr. Fry's rendering of ' ascending', the verse will read,

'Long not for the night,
For the ascending of the people from their abode below.'

Chap. xxxviii. 12—15. These verses are very difficult. They have been considered as referring to the morning; and for a beautiful illustration of them in this sense, the reader may be directed to Scott's Notes in his poetical version. Mr. Fry perceives an application in them to nothing else than the universal Deluge, and he presents them in the following form:

12. 'In thy days didst thou appoint a morning,
Didst thou signify to a dawn its place,
13. When "the waters" should seize on the utmost parts of the earth.
And transgressors should be wafted out of it?
14. It became as the clay of the seal,
And they set upon it like a garment.
15. Their light was withholden from the transgressors,
And their high arm was broken,'

Mr. Fry has, without authority, inserted 'waters' in the text; and this violent intrusion of an important word seems to be the only circumstance which can connect the description with the universal Deluge; but even then, it is not a very intelligible one. The state of the earth before the general Deluge, was probably, in many respects, very different from what it is at present; Mr. Fry presumes too much, however, when he remarks, that it appears from the testimony of the Scriptures, that the earth was not then watered, as now, by falling showers. The passage to which he refers, Gen. ii. 5, only states that, previously to the existence of man, the earth was irrigated by exhalations from its surface; but it seems to imply that, after that event, 'the heavens gave rain.' "For the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground."

The concluding section of Mr. Fry's work is entitled, "Job a type of Christ," but its appropriate designation would be, A dissertation on the nature and mediatorial character of Christ. It is a mere fancy of Mr. Fry's mind, that Job was prepared by the discipline of his affliction for the priestly office, and that, at the conclusion of his trial, he was Divinely constituted to be the priest of the Most High God. The sacred record contains no information of this kind; nor are the circumstances to which Mr. Fry refers as the ground-work of his theory at all in favour of such a notion. The three friends of the patriarch were commanded to offer up for themselves a burnt offering, and Job was to pray for them. But to represent this transaction as the appointment of the patriarch to be a consecrated priest, and to conclude that 'all the churches in that neighbour-

'hood would know that Job was established to be a priest of 'the Lord,' is to furnish a comment which the text does not authorize. Job was as much a priest before his adversity, as subsequently to it. His afflictions were not the means of consecrating him to any office of priesthood, or to any public ministry of grace. On such a design, the history is totally silent; nor do any other portions of the sacred Scriptures supply the information with which Mr. Fry has favoured us, but which he must have drawn from an apocryphal source.

Art. V. 1. *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois, of their Valleys, from the Original.* By Henri Arnaud, their Commander and Pastor. With a compendious History of that People, previous and subsequent to that Event. By Hugh Dyke Acland. 8vo. pp. 384. Map and Engravings. Price 30s. London, 1827.

2. *Authentic Details of the Valdenses, in Piemont and other Countries; with abridged Translations of "L'Histoire des Vaudois", par Bresse, and "La Rentrée Glorieuse d'Henri Arnaud", with the ancient Valdensian Catechism.* To which are subjoined, Original Letters, written during a Residence among the Vaudois of Piemont and Wirtemberg, in 1825. 8vo. pp. 464. Etchings. Price 12s. London, 1827.

THE *Rentrée Glorieuse* is a singularly interesting book, and of exceeding rarity. It contains, not merely a narration connected with general history, but one of the most romantic sections in the annals of a romantic people; and its marvels might justify our incredulity, were they not sustained and illustrated by clear evidence, both internal and external. It supplies the details of a gallant and successful effort made by a mere handful of exiled Vaudois to regain their native valleys, in the face of an opposition, under all ordinary circumstances, completely overwhelming. The narrative is written just in that simple and antique manner which is the best medium for history of all kinds, but which is more especially suited to relations that mingle personal adventures with general movements. To this valuable document, we shall mainly direct the attention of our readers, deferring our notice of other matters to the conclusion of our abstract. But we must premise a single remark.

How far is the use of arms permitted to the Christian? The difficulties involved in this question, we have never seen adequately met. But if the discussion, when taken on this general and unencumbered ground, requires anxious thought and guarded expression, we find it assume a yet more formidable aspect, when we are called on to institute the same inquiry, with the added circumstances of character and duty. It has been

maintained, and on high ground, nor have the maintainers hesitated to act out their convictions, that there are exigencies in which the Christian, *as a Christian*, is not only permitted, but bound to imagine and to levy war, without the smallest regard to the authorities or ties which are usually considered as sacred and inviolable; that he is not only invested with paramount rights, but constrained by the terms of a higher allegiance; and that when the interests of his spiritual association are concerned, they are to be urged forward at all costs, without reference to human codes, and without reckoning of human sufferings. A sentiment of this kind, although it has, in many instances, been the effect of persecution, has an obvious tendency to awaken its spirit, both by action and re-action. This was partially the case in the instance of Arnaud and his Vaudois;—although the observations we are now making, are less applicable to them, than to other persecuted and militant sects. It would be an interesting labour, to trace out the operation of these principles in the history of the Christian Church; but it is a task of difficulty, demanding no ordinary exercise of patience and discrimination, and is, in fact, the business of the annalist, rather than of the reviewer.

We take it for granted that our readers are in possession of the general outline of the history of the Vaudois; a peculiar and most interesting people, inhabiting a wild and rugged nook of the Alps of Piedmont. Their historians claim for them the highest antiquity. Their documents (of which many, either entire or in abstract, occur in Morland's unsuperseded volume) are of undeniably ancient date; and it is highly probable, that this depressed but evangelical race, is the remnant of those who, from the time of the Apostles, maintained in Italy the pure gospel faith. Gradually lessening in numbers, and retiring before the accumulating force of superstition and persecution, they found a hiding-place and partial refuge in these obscure and sterile recesses. Here they enjoyed a precarious respite from the storms that were destructively raging around them. Their lot was hard, but its alleviations reconciled them to its severities; they worshipped, after the dictates of conscience, the God of their fathers; and if fanaticism, raging for its prey, prowled around their borders, sometimes carrying off a few victims to allay its insatiate ravening, it was unable to penetrate to their central strong-holds. The princes of the House of Savoy seem to have been, on the whole, disposed to protect the Vaudois; but sacerdotal influence and military policy have too often swayed them to violent measures. In 1561, a fierce and formidable attack was made on the valleys, by the Piedmontese forces; superior numbers were, however, unavailing against the intrepidity of the mountaineers and the strength of their rocky fastnesses,

and though treachery brought a few under the infliction of ecclesiastical execution, no advantage was gained over the main body. In 1655, a more determined and systematic effort was made by a combined force of Savoyards, French, and Germans, under the command of the Piedmontese general, the Marquess di Pianezza. This sanguinary and unprincipled man hesitated at no means, however base, in the accomplishment of his purpose. Falsehood the most barefaced, outrageous perfidy, torture, murder, massacre, were all lavishly employed. But there were unconquerable spirits among the Waldenses; and the names of Janavel (Gianavello) and Jayer (Giahiero), with their gallant comrades, may range with those of the highest and holiest among the defenders of liberty. These men risked every thing against the most appalling superiority of numbers and discipline, and the result was shameful discomfiture to the unrighteous cause. The termination, however, would probably have been disastrous, but for the intervention of foreign states. The Protestant powers were roused; the Swiss, the Dutch, the Swedes, and others interfered; and England was distinguished by the spirit and energy of her remonstrances, as well as by the liberality of her contributions in relief of those who had suffered from spoliation. Cromwell was not a man for half measures, and the embassy of Morland was probably more efficacious than the intercession of less powerful advocates.

The persecution, of which the *Glorieuse Rentrée* was the result, commenced about 1685, and is represented as having had its origin in the ambition and persecuting spirit of Louis XIV. That monarch, not satisfied with the glory resulting from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the consequent extirpation of heresy from his own dominions, extended the vigilance of his orthodoxy to the territories of his neighbour, the Duke of Savoy, and urged that prince to adopt the same measures against the Protestants of Piedmont, which he had recently employed with such unrelenting ferocity against the Huguenots of France. The Duke suffered himself to be intimidated, and threw into prison 14,000 Vaudois, who had, in simple reliance on his good faith, put themselves into his power. Again did the Protestant governments of Europe interfere; but, when the order of release was given, not more than 3,000 were remaining of the original number, and these are described as 'moving skeletons, more like spectres than men.' They were permitted to retire into Switzerland, where their reception was hospitable. Their attachment to home, however, kept them restless, and various attempts were made to effect their return and restoration; but all were frustrated by the vigilance of the Swiss governments, which had made themselves, by their interference, in some degree responsible for the good and peaceable behaviour

of the exiles. At length, after much deliberation and with much difficulty, a union was effected in the wood of Nion, and the passage of the lake of Geneva was effected in the night of August 16th, 1689, although a considerable number were left behind, through the treachery or apprehensions of the boatmen. The few hundreds who reached the opposite side, were duly brigaded, and placed under the command of trust-worthy officers, the whole under the direction of Henri Arnaud, who, though now a minister, had commenced his career in the army. Demonstrations of attack or opposition were made at various points in the march; but nothing serious occurred, until they reached the valley of the Jaillon, among the roots of Mount Cenis. They had previously passed Cluses, Salenche, and Beaufort, scaled the precipices of the 'Haute Luce,' and crossed Mount Iseran. The passage of the great and little Cenis had been most painful and exhausting; and, to enhance their misery, they had wandered from their proper course, and come in contact with the French garrison of Exilles. The action which ensued, though partial, was disastrous, and compelled them to take another and more difficult route to the valley of the Dora. At Salabertrann, they found the enemy, 2,500 strong, entrenched on the opposite side of the river, while a detachment from Exilles was pressing on their rear. In this extremity, they had no alternative but to carry the bridge at all cost.

Our men, seeing themselves thus placed between two fires, and that every exertion must be made, called out "The bridge is carried," although it was not, which so animated the soldiers, that they threw themselves upon it, and forcing it sword in hand, made their way into the entrenchments of the enemy, whom they pursued so closely as to seize them by the hair. The shock was tremendous; the sabres of the Vaudois struck fire against the steel of the French, who could only use their muskets to parry the blows: at last the victory was so complete, that the Marquis de Larrey, who commanded the French, and was dangerously wounded in the arm, exclaimed, (swearing after the French manner,) "Is it possible I should lose the battle and my honour? *Sauve qui peut!*" He then retreated, with several other wounded officers, to Briançon, where, not thinking himself in safety, he took the road to Embrun in a litter. The engagement lasted near two hours, and the enemy were thrown into such disorder, that many were mixed with the Vaudois, and thus killed. The watch-word of the Vaudois being Angrogna, the enemies, in trying to repeat it, replied to the "*Qui vive?*" only "*Grogne,*" so that this word alone cost about 200 of them their lives: at last the field of battle remained covered with dead; many companies were reduced to seven or eight men, all their officers having been killed, and all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victorious Vaudois. Mons. Arnaud ordered them to break open thirteen military chests, and throw into the river the booty they could not carry, after providing themselves with as much powder and ball as each man could convey, and setting fire to the rest,

which made so terrible an explosion among the mountains, that it was heard at Briançon. At the same time the trumpets were sounded, and every man throwing up his hat, made the air resound with this exclamation of joy, "Thanks be given to the eternal God of armies, who has granted us the victory." (*Authentic Details.*)

On the ninth day from the commencement of this gallant enterprise, the Vaudois gained the valley of Pragela, the first of their native vales; and soon afterwards fell in with a detachment of Savoyard troops, who took to flight without waiting for close action. From this time, they began to refuse quarter; and the system is excused by Arnaud, on the dangerous plea of necessity.

'Let not the reader be surprised that the Vaudois should thus put to death those who fell into their hands. We had no prisons to confine them; our numbers were too small, and the warfare too desultory to admit the possibility of guarding them; and to have released them would have been to have published our plans, our weakness, and every thing on which depended the success of our enterprise.'

(*Acland.*)

The 'twelfth and consoling day' brought them to Prali, in the valley of St. Martin. Here they burnt a popish chapel, and finding their own parish church still entire, performed divine service in their own way, for the first time since reaching their own country. On the following day, they stormed the Col de Julien, where the enemy were entrenched. On the sixteenth day, an 'oath of fidelity' was administered. A subsequent advance on Villar was unsuccessful; the Vaudois were encountered and driven back by a strong regular force, under the Marquis de Parelle. The movements which followed, are given by Arnaud in detail, and they supply abundant evidence of the activity, courage, and endurance of the gallant mountaineers under his command; but, although exceedingly interesting in the minute statement of the original narrative, they are quite incapable of abridgement. The different detachments had each a separate suite of adventures, which, though varied in the particulars, may all be generally characterised as combining the usual circumstances and casualties of mountain warfare. Climbing precipices, defiling along difficult passes, incessant skirmishing, severe privation, the absence of all accommodation—such was the life of these brave and determined men; until, at length, harassed and hemmed in, with immensely superior numbers pressing in upon them from every quarter, they called in all detachments, and fell back on a strong position at the foot of the Col de Pis.

'Before we proceed further in this account, it will be proper to give a more minute description of the Balsi, or (as it was called) the castle. It is a lofty and very steep rock, rising by three different terraces, on

the top of each of which is a small flat space, in which a sort of barracks had been excavated in the ground. It possesses also three springs. It has been mentioned, that intrenchments had been constructed, and these were pierced with loop-holes. Each post was also provided with a large store of stones to hurl on the heads of the assailants. The access to it is every where difficult; the side on which it is the least so, is from a torrent which runs at its feet. As this was the only side on which an attack could be made, Mons. Arnaud had caused it to be fortified by good palisadoes and parapets of dry wall. Moreover, trees had been cut down, and so disposed, that the branches should be opposed to the assailants. A layer of trees was loaded with large stones, on which were again placed trees, secured in the same manner, and so on.

The French and Savoyard army which assailed this formidable position, was under the command of the celebrated Catinat, who was, in this instance at least, weak enough to indulge the prejudices of a tactician, and, despising an enemy not regularly disciplined, attempted to take at once the bull by the horns, and carry the place by storm. A first attempt to make the approach by a ruined village, was repulsed: the second was made from a different quarter, by five hundred picked men of the regiment of Artois. Covered by the fire of their main body, these gallant soldiers rushed upon the *abbatis*, but the cool, unerring fire of the Vaudois marksmen brought them down by scores. Their defeat was completed by a bold sortie; the colonel was taken, and only ten or twelve escaped; the besieged did not lose a man. This was the second attack on the Vaudois strong-hold: a former, under the direction of Mons. de l'Ombraile, had been equally unsuccessful.

Catinat seems to have had a sufficient specimen of this kind of warfare, to destroy all inclination to persevere in so vexatious and inglorious a contest. He quitted the division for the purpose of placing himself at the head of the French army in the Milanese, and left the further prosecution of the Vaudois war to the Marquess de Feuquieres. This skilful officer and able writer on military matters, has given a brief account of this affair, so far as he was concerned in it, which hardly justifies Mr. Acland's opinion that it corroborates Arnaud's statement, since, though it of course coincides in some of the major facts, it varies from it, not only in minor points, but in important particulars. De Feuquieres describes the measures he took to effect the '*circumvallation*'—a singularly inapplicable term—of the *Quatre Dents*, a name particularly given to the four-crested rock of the Balsi. He says nothing of batteries, but attributes his success to the '*grande terreur*' into which the noise and effect of a single short four-pounder threw the besieged. 'His troops', he says, 'threw themselves into the tor-

'rent, in which there was then little water, and forced the entrenchment, putting its defenders to the sword. At the same time, the officer with the flag made the concerted signals to the other points of attack; so that in less than two hours the rock of Quatre Dents was forced in its entire circuit, and all the Barbets (a nickname given to the Vaudois) who garrisoned it were put to the sword, excepting one hundred and twenty, who found means to escape on that side of the attack which I had assigned to M. de Clerembout.' Arnaud's account is very different from this. He speaks of successful sorties made by the besieged; of batteries raised by the French, and reducing the loose walls of the lower entrenchment to 'a state of utter destruction': he says nothing of the storming and massacre, but represents the Vaudois as retiring to an inner fortification, and as effecting their retreat by night. He cites documents in proof and illustration of his statement, and among them, a short bulletin that appeared at Turin to the following effect:—

'The French have driven the Huguenots from their forts, who fled the night after their entrenchments were destroyed by the cannon. They defiled between two divisions, over places so steep that no guard had been appointed to watch them, it being thought impossible for men to pass over them. They served each other for bridges, and have since appeared in the valley of Luzerne. The lieutenant-colonel' (of the French regiment of Artois, who had been made prisoner in Catinat's attack) 'was found recently put to death.' (*Acland.*)

We shall cite the account given by Arnaud, of this strange and hazardous escape.

'While the enemy were minutely examining every fresh position which was abandoned by the besieged, the latter thought of nothing but how to make good their escape. The immense fires kept burning in the French encampment, seemed to preclude all hope of their being able to retire under cover of the night, and well were they aware that the hand of God alone could deliver them in this hour of peril, as he had already done from so many former dangers. But at the very moment when a most cruel death seemed to be preparing for them, a fog arose before dark, thus assisting to lengthen the night, which at that season was in itself too short for their purpose. Captain Poulat, who was a native of La Balsille, offered to be their guide, and they resolved to march, under the protection of God, and the direction of this brave man, who had a perfect knowledge of the country, and having accurately observed the situation of the enemy's fires, he declared the only chance of escape to be across a frightful precipitous ravine. They followed him down this chasm, some sliding on their backs, others scrambling with one knee on the ground, holding by the branches of trees, occasionally resting, and then feeling their way with their hands or feet. Poulat made them take off their shoes that they might the

better perceive whether they placed their feet on any thing capable of supporting them. In this manner they passed close to one of the French outposts, and a Vaudois soldier, in trying to assist himself with his hands, let fall a small kettle, which, in rolling over some stones, made noise enough to disturb a sentinel, who cried out, " Qui vive ? " but this kettle happily not being of those feigned by the poets to have spoken, and to have delivered oracles in the forest of Dodona, returned no answer, and the sentinel took no further notice. Meanwhile the Vaudois continued to gain ground ; they ascended the mountain of Guignevert, in the direction of Salse, and two hours after daylight they were still climbing the mountain by steps which they cut for themselves in the snow. The French, who were encamped at Lantiga, discovered them at a distance, and sent a detachment in pursuit of them, but they descended by the Pausettes of La Salse, on the other side of the mountain, where they stopped to rest and refresh themselves.' (*Authentic Details.*)

In his recapitulation of the evidences of Divine interposition in behalf of the Vaudois, Arnaud adds some further particulars of this siege.

' Can any one be weak enough to suppose, that, without Divine protection, 367 Vaudois, shut up for eight months in La Balsille, sleeping on the earth, and subsisting only upon bread and herbs, in small quantities, could force 10,000 French and 12,000 Piemontese to retire with loss ; and that, after defending themselves during a second siege, they could have so happily escaped the fury of the French, who, still enraged at the obstinate resistance they met with from such a handful of men, had resolved to condemn them to be hung, and actually brought executioners and ropes for the purpose ! '

Shortly afterwards, a rupture taking place between the Duke of Savoy and the French, the Vaudois were received into their sovereign's favour, and did good service against the common enemy. But, on the conclusion of peace, the old grudge revived. Arnaud was denounced as a traitor ; a reward was offered for his capture ; and he was compelled to take flight in disguise. He became the pastor and patriarch of that division of his countrymen which settled in Wirtemberg, and spent with them the remainder of his life, dying at the advanced age of eighty.

The Author of the ' *Authentic Details* ' has given some interesting particulars, written on the spot, of the present condition of the Vaudois, both in Piedmont and Wirtemberg. In the former kingdom, they are allowed a reluctant and restricted toleration : in the latter, they have been the objects of a mean and harassing solicitude to bring them within the pale of the Lutheran Church, in which they will, probably, ultimately be merged. We are happy to find that our Piemontese brethren are no longer neglected by the Protestant nations. Effective sub-

scriptions have been raised; government allowances which had been discontinued, have been revived; and we trust that better and brighter days are opening on this simple but admirable people. To their visitors from England, they have given a characteristic reception; cordial and hospitable to the full extent of their means, and we rejoice in the belief that those means will be, henceforward, less restricted. We strongly recommend to all who feel an interest in these things, the very acceptable volumes before us. They contain a great variety of attractive and instructive matter: they are written in an excellent spirit, and in an agreeable style. Before, however, we put them out of our hands, we must notice a charge brought by the Author of the 'Authentic Details', against the University of Cambridge, as the unfair detainers of a valuable collection of papers deposited with them merely for safety. When Cromwell sent Morland as his 'Commissioner Extraordinary' to the Court of Piedmont, for the express purpose of remonstrating in behalf of the oppressed Vaudois, that active and intelligent envoy obtained a considerable collection of valuable papers illustrative of the actual and previous condition of the Protestants of Savoy; and, having made excellent use of them in his valuable 'History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont', he presented them, 'together with divers other manuscripts relating to the late troubles of Switzerland upon the accompt of Religion, as his free gift, to the publick library of the famous University of Cambridge, in August 1658.' Such are his own words; and in another part of his volume, he gives 'Extracts of several very authentick and rare Treatises, composed by the ancient inhabitants of the valleys of Piemont, a great part whereof were written about four hundred and twenty, others above five hundred and fifty years ago, and the rest in all probability are of a far more ancient date. The true originals of all which were collected with no little pains and industry, by the author of this History, during his abode in those parts, and at his return, by him presented to the publick library of the famous University of Cambridge.' This, it should seem, is plain and probable enough. Nothing is more likely, than that an active-minded man should set about the search after such materials, and, that a grateful and oppressed people should take a pleasure in furnishing their benefactor with whatever he might require, as well as a pride in the conviction that they were sending forth from obscurity the undeniable evidences, not only of their antiquity, but of their faith and constancy. Yet, it seems, that there is now, somewhere or other, a claim set up concerning these papers.

On examining the historian, Leger, who gives a list of the manu-
VOL. 1.—N.S.

scripts, and the way they were sent to England, as well as the receipt of the Chargé d'Affaires who received them, and *his assurance* that he had lodged them at Cambridge, it clearly appears, that they were given up in order to be placed in a state of security, and NOT as a present. So that the Vaudois have a clear right to redeem them still. If they were given, where was the use of so exact a catalogue and receipt, and what object was it to the Vaudois to have a certificate of their being placed at Cambridge? The catalogue is evidently formed, not only as an enumeration of objects, but to make the reference to the manuscripts easy.' *Authentic Details.*

All this seems to us to amount to very little. Take away the high-sounding words 'clearly' and 'evidently', and it is reduced to the simple fact; that an acknowledgement was given of the receipt of certain papers, a correct catalogue given, and an assurance that they had been lodged in secure custody. The documents were valuable, and an official acknowledgement was expedient as evidence that their guardians had not neglected them; the 'assurance' of safe deposit was necessary to shew that Morland had dealt fairly with his trust; and the catalogue would shew the Vaudois where they might refer in case of necessity. If temporary security had been all that was wanted, Switzerland or Germany was nearer, more convenient, and equally secure.

Twelve beautifully engraved views of interesting scenes adorn Mr. Acland's volume; the other contains a number of indifferent etchings. The profits of the latter publication are to be appropriated to the benefit of the Vaudois.

Art. VI. *The Religion of the Reformation*, as exhibited in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. 12mo. pp. 514. Price 7s. London. Seeley and Son. 1828.

THE Author of this Exposition of the Doctrinal Formularies of the Church of England, has found, in the movements of the supporters of Popery, and in the supineness of the professors of Protestantism, an occasion for addressing his contemporaries on the obligations by which he considers them as bound to maintain their opposition to the Church of Rome. Whether the dangers which he apprehends be real or imaginary, we cannot consider him as misapplying either his time or his talents in endeavouring to impress upon his readers a sense of the privileges and blessings which have resulted from the Reformation, and in exhorting them to guard, for the sake of themselves and of posterity, the sacred rights of Christian men. We should, however, have been able to award to his efforts in this service, a more ample measure of applause, if he had opposed himself to the *spiritual* usurpations in which the dominion of an exclu-

sive and tyrannical Church authority originated, more decidedly and effectually than his principles or his prejudices have permitted. To the evangelical spirit which pervades his interpretation of the essential articles of the Christian faith, we very cordially yield our approval; and not less cheerfully do we commend the moderation which he has observed in commenting upon them. With genuine and fervent piety, he unites the simplicity which belongs to true religion; and he inculcates the tenets which he believes to be true, with a constant reference to the practical effects by which alone their reception and influence can be attested. As a Christian teacher, he instructs in order that he may edify; directing his solicitude equally to the head and the heart of his readers, and limiting, as every discreet teacher will limit, the consolations of religion to those who seriously regard and obey its precepts. His Exposition is much less controversial than practical; while he at the same time shews himself always prepared to defend the Christian principles which he professes, and to expose the errors which would subvert them. But as, in his hands, the defence of those tenets is the assertion and maintenance of them as they have been embodied in the formularies of a Church established and supported by human authority, the New Testament is not his text-book. As a member of a national Church, he must necessarily adopt its creed; and as its minister, he is under obligation to uphold the authority from which its offices have proceeded, and by which its articles are enjoined. We cannot, as he does, refer to 'the Parliament', the great and fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as objects of their attention and safeguard. These, assuredly, are quite remote from the objects of national legislation, and are not to be settled by debate or determined by votes. He who denies infallibility to Popes, and takes out of the hands of papal functionaries the right of dictating to the faith of men, is not very consistent with himself in conferring upon Parliaments the care of spiritual interests. The rights of conscience can never be safely transferred from the guardianship of one class of men to the keeping of another: the claim must be made personally for man. Conscience is individual, and so are its rights. A national faith will be no object of reference in the last day, and can be therefore no guide to man in the consideration of his great account. The religion of the Reformation is grounded entirely on the authority of the Scriptures; and as the Scriptures are exclusively the source of religious truth, and are alike accessible to all, the exercise of Protestant rights will lead men to them, not circuitously, but directly, as to the very fountain of all Christian verities.

It is well to expose the errors of Popery, and to contend for rights which the Romish Church would extinguish; but a

writer may be very zealous in this service, and still be denied a place among the enlightened advocates and defenders of Christian liberty, which is much more spiritual in its nature, than many who profess to understand it would induce us, from their representations of it, to believe. That we may not appear to our readers to be proceeding irregularly in this course of observation, we shall, for the present, only further notice the exposition which the Author of this work has given of the obligations and duties of Christian pastors. 'They have a right', he says, 'to require attention to public ordinances, and to enforce that attention by the law'. (p. 476.) Assuredly, the ministers and people who formed the first congregations of Christian worshippers, were not forced into association with each other by any such compulsory method as the Author would place, and which he considers as being rightly placed, in the hands of Christ's ministers. Had we been addressing exhortations to mutual forbearance among Christians, we should have thought Rom. xiv. 19, a very good reference for our purpose; but, strange to say, the Author sets it down as a proof passage, that 'professing Christians are under obligation to observe the rules of their Church.' And he includes 1 Pet. ii. 13, in the same sentence!

The Author's exposition of the third of the Articles, '*Of the going down of Christ into Hell*,' is very concise, but it is also very unsatisfactory; it is moreover replete with misconstructions and irrelevant citations of the Scriptures. Within the compass of less than a dozen pages, we find so many errors as would fully justify us in charging upon the Author the very excess of carelessness. The facility with which he admits evidence in support of the doctrine maintained in this part of his work, is not a little surprising, and must excite extreme caution in respect to the proofs which he may adduce in support of the tenets he advocates. He refers us to several passages 'in the word of God, wherein the word *Hades*, which we sometimes translate hell, and sometimes grave,' is used in these senses. Among these we find, Matt. v. 22. "shall be in danger of hell-fire"; xxiii. 33. "how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" 2 Pet. ii. 4. "spared not the angels, but cast them into hell"; in respect to which he says, that 'the context shews that the word describes the regions of woe and destruction.' It is very remarkable, that, in *not one* of these examples, does the word *Hades* occur. Are we to conclude, that because "hell" is found in the translation, the Author imagined that *Hades* was in the original; as if the former of these words was uniformly the representative of the latter, when used in the sense which denotes the place of future punishment? It is very singular, that a writer should produce four passages for the purpose of establishing, by direct proof,

the import of a particular term, and that three out of the four should not contain the word in respect to which they are cited as witnesses.

But this is the slightest part of the offence with which we must hold the Author chargeable in this portion of his exposition. It is his avowed purpose, in this summary of the doctrines of the Reformation, to establish their truth by the authority of the 'written word;' and to accomplish this design, he has introduced references to the particular passages which he considers as confirming the positions of the Articles, in the form of answers to questions arising out of the previous arrangement of the subject. As the authority of Scripture is conclusive with all well-instructed Christians, it should be at all times carefully and solidly produced. And as the object sought is, to promote the reception of doctrines which are urged upon the acceptance of mankind as of the highest importance, the proof from Scripture should always have a direct relation to the subject which it is employed to illustrate or establish. For, if testimony be repeatedly adduced, which, on examination, is found not only weak, but irrelevant, it may be productive of most serious injury to the inquirer. He may be repelled from further examination, and so be confirmed in his errors or delusions; in which case, a responsibility will be contracted, of no light character. Ps. xvi. 10, Acts ii. 27—31, are quoted as proofs that Jesus suffered the pains of hell, 'went into the deep and suffering hell of divine judgement;' and John xix. 30, Colos. ii. 15, are adduced as proofs that the time of this suffering was not after the crucifixion. Any other passages of the New Testament might be, with equal propriety, cited for the same purposes. They are altogether useless in such a connection, and leave the doctrine asserted in the proposition of the Expositor, among the gratuitous *dicta* which have been received without evidence. Against that explanation of the Article which interprets it of the descent of Christ's body to the grave, the Author urges, that the Article intends something more, since it adds to the words 'As Christ died for us, and was buried,' the clause, 'So also it is to be believed, that he went down into hell.' But it seems not less clear, that, as the Article adds the clause of Christ's going down into hell to that of his being buried, it refers to a time and act subsequent to his death, and cannot therefore relate to his sufferings previously endured. Besides, the foregoing Article includes the sufferings of Christ, and therefore they are not introduced in this: 'Christ—truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.' The Third Article is additional to this, and cannot be considered as explanatory of it.

This Third Article of the doctrinal formulary of the English Church is a very curious one; and we shall therefore give some further account of it for the instruction or gratification of our readers. It affords a striking instance of assent required to an undefined doctrine, as an article of faith: 'It is to be believed, that Christ went down into hell.' But, of this descent, it offers no explanation; and the credence which it demands, is therefore required to a form of words which have no explicit meaning, and which cannot receive from the parties pledging themselves to the belief of it, a uniform and intelligent assent.

The tenet has a place in the Creed as well as in the Articles. It was, however, of late introduction into the former, having no place in the early Oriental or Roman formularies. In King Edward the Sixth's Articles, it is inserted with a reference to a passage in the New Testament: 'The body of Christ lay in the grave until his Resurrection; but his spirit, which he gave up, was with the spirits which were detained in prison, or in Hell, and preached to them, as the place in St. Peter testifieth.' In the Articles of Elizabeth, 1562, this reference is omitted, and the Article appears in the form in which we have already quoted it. The terms in which it is delivered in the Latin Church, from which it was borrowed, are, '*descendit in inferna*.' Bishop Horsley, in his Sermon on 1 Peter iii. 18—20, maintains, that the place to which Christ descended was 'that region of repose' and rest where the souls of the righteous abide in joyful hope 'of the consummation of their bliss'! In support of this opinion, he cites from the Epistle to the Ephesians the phrase, "lower parts of the earth;" which he affirms is a periphrasis in the Greek language for "hell," in the proper sense of that word, as the invisible mansion of departed spirits; and this, he further states, is the only sense in which any Greek writer would have used the words, or any one who spoke the language would have understood them. This criticism, however, is quite erroneous. The expressions occur in Ps. lxiii. 9, in which they can have no appropriate reference when thus explained. They are found also in Ps. cxxxix. 15, where the sense attributed to them by the Bishop is clearly inadmissible. From the use of the phrase in the creed into which they were first inserted, it is evident, that the words are intended to signify the burial of the body of Christ, since otherwise the creed would not include the article of Christ's burial: '—crucified under Pontius Pilate, he descended *in inferna*.' But, as the words 'dead and buried' were afterwards added to the creed, and placed before the words 'he descended *in inferna*,' the latter were unquestionably intended to express some circumstance distinct from the burial of Christ's body. And so, the Article is designed to embody, in the formulary of which it is a part, the descent of Christ sepa-

ately from his interment—'As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed, that he went down into hell.'

The hell of the creed is explained by some of the old writers, of the *Limbus Patrum* to which, they say, Christ went down for the purpose of delivering the patriarchs and other righteous men detained in bondage till his death. According to their conceit, heaven was not open for the admission of men previously to the passion of the Redeemer; and such as died in a perfect state of grace antecedently to it, were received into the mansion of the fathers, the *Limbus Patrum*, so called from its supposed situation on the higher part or brim of hell.

Another ancient opinion is, that the descent of Christ denotes only the efficacy of his death upon the souls placed in safe custody in hell. In part, this notion corresponds to the preceding; but it differs from it in denying a real local transition. There was no going down of Christ's person into the invisible mansions inhabited by the departed of preceding times; but there was to them a beneficial participation in the effects of his death.

By some interpreters, the phrase 'he descended into hell,' is explained of the depositing of Christ's body in the grave, or of its lying in the grave; and they allege, that soul is used in Scripture, where only body is intended, and that hell is in some passages to be understood only of the grave. But it is evident, that, whatever truth there may be in the criticism, the Article distinguishes the burial of Christ from the descent. Still, however, this explication must be noticed, because it is an interpretation which some subscribers to the Article, and some believers in the creed, may favour.

The descent of Christ, as an article of faith, is again expounded by some theologians, as denoting the endurance by Christ of the punishment of sin in the sufferings of hell: '*Eam mortem pertulerit quæ sceleribus ab irato Deo infligitur*'—'*diros in anima cruciatus damnati ac perditionis hominis pertulerit*.' This is the sense in which the article is explained in the work before us. 'We do not suppose that Christ's soul literally descended into the place of torment, after his death on the tree.'—'That Jesus suffered the pains of hell, is unquestionable.'—'He endured the full curse that had been provoked by the transgression of his people.'—'Jesus went into the deep and suffering hell of divine judgement.'—'This was an endurance of the torments suffered by those who are banished from God's presence.'

Bishop Horsley supposes, that Our Lord went, in his disembodied spirit, into that part of the nether regions in which the souls of the righteous were in safe keeping, and, among others, those of the Antediluvians that had been brought to repentance and faith in a Redeemer to come, that he might announce to

them the glad tidings, that he had actually offered the sacrifice of their redemption, and was about to appear before the Father as their intercessor. He thinks, that the sacred writers manifest occasionally an anxiety to convey distinct intimations, that the antediluvian race is not uninterested in the redemption and final retribution. Of this anxiety, however, he furnishes no other evidence than the notice which occurs in a passage in the Apocalypse:—"And the sea gave up the dead that were in it." This passage, even granting its inclusive reference to the antediluvians, only proves that they shall be judged as a part of the human race in the "great day"; but is altogether silent, as is every part of the Bible, respecting any supposed interest in the redemption. This is one of the Bishop's ingenious but inadmissible assumptions.

For the variety of opinions which have been published respecting the descent of Christ into hell, we refer our readers to Bishop Pearson on the Creed; and we shall conclude our present account of them, by giving a place to that which he supports as the most probable. 'The soul of Christ, really separated from his body by death, did truly pass into the place below, where the souls of the departed were, that he might undergo the condition of a dead man as well as of a living one. His body was laid in a grave, as ordinarily the bodies of dead men are; and his soul was conveyed into such a receptacle as the souls of other persons use to be, that the law of death might be fully satisfied.'

As our object, in this concise enumeration of opinions, is not either to decide the question to which they refer, or to give an account of the refutations which have been attempted of the several opinions maintained by different authors, we shall not further pursue the subject. The inference we draw from them, relates to the absurdity of the case to which the exposition before us has been the means of directing our attention. 'It is to be believed, that Christ descended into hell.' The article exhibits this as a doctrine of faith, but contains no information as to the meaning of the expressions which it contains. Certainly, the writer before us, who has offered himself as an expositor of the formulary of the Church of England, affords no such help to the understanding of the doctrine intended, as can at all assist an inquirer in his examination of its import. He is, indeed, as we have already mentioned, inconsistent with himself, since he interprets the second article as comprising the very same sentiments which he has included in his interpretation of the third. Under that part of the second article which states that 'Christ—truly suffered,' the Expositor remarks:

'Christ filled the office of surety for his people: in consequence, some of the debts for which he stood responsible must be paid in his

heart's blood, and in the sufferings of hell seizing upon his soul: for this was what man stood exposed to endure; and we behold him in consequence carried to judgement, condemned, crucified as a malefactor, and at the same time enduring the horrors of internal darkness, the withdrawing of the Father's countenance, and the bitterest pains of desolation in his mind.

In his remarks on the fourth article, 'Of the Resurrection of Christ,' the Author has attempted to assign reasons for the limitation of the proofs of that essential fact; but he has not, we think, provided the most solid answers to either the inquiries of the sincere disciple, or the cavils of the petulant unbeliever.

'It is asked by the Infidel, Wherefore not have made the appearance of the ascension of the risen body as public as the crucifixion had been, and so have left the matter beyond question? It is answered, in the first place, this would have been inconsistent with the nature of Christ's kingdom, which is spiritual, and established through faith: it would have been to the dishonour of the Holy Spirit's part in the covenant, to whom it belongs to bring sinners to believe and live: it would have proved against the very testimonies given by Jesus, when living amongst men, who forewarned the Jews of the judicial blindness and wrath which were coming upon them, and by which despisers should be left to perish without further testimony from him. John vii. 34.' pp. 50, 51.

The subject of the twentieth Article is too copious and too important to be hastily dealt with. 'The Church hath power 'to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of 'faith.' We are glad to find our Expositor, in illustrating this Article, asserting, that,

'There is no Scriptural authority by which a church is placed in the power of enforcing its decrees or requirements, by persecution, or compulsion; neither can any body of men ground upon God's word, the assumption of a right to insist upon the confession of what they shall enact.'

This is very gratifying as coming from the pen of a true churchman. We believe it all. But, if all this be true, the Author only shews us, how grossly Scriptural authority has been disregarded by the Church whose articles he is expounding. There is one very essential explanation wanted, in respect to this Article, which the Author has most cautiously abstained from noticing; we mean, that which is required in answer to the question, *Who*, or *What* is the church which has power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith? He addresses to the partizans of Popery some very perplexing considerations on the doctrines of infallibility; remarking, that the existence of dispute or doubt upon the subject, does at

once destroy the pretension to it. Now, as we are of his opinion, that, as Protestants, we should be able to support our liberty upon true grounds, we could wish that he had favoured us with a description of the persons who constitute the Church to which belong the powers specified in the article. But, indeed, if no body of men are justified by 'God's word' in assuming the right to insist upon the confession of what they shall enact, there is an end of all inquiry and all controversy on this subject.

We have already animadverted upon the Author's inappropriate references to Scripture. We find them increasing as we proceed. Under the xxvth Article, in reply to the questions, 'Have we any Scripture example of persons receiving benefit by ecclesiastical confirmation, or of any observances of a rite of this description in the primitive church?' Acts xiv. 21, 22., xv. 32. 2 Tim. i. 5, 6, are cited as proof passages. What resemblance any one can perceive between Paul and Barnabas addressing the motives and consolations of the Gospel to the Christian believers in the cities of Asia Minor, and "exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God," and the ceremony of confirmation, it would be difficult to say; and the correspondence of the latter to the case of Judas and Silas delivering exhortations to the brethren to whom they were the bearers of the Apostolic decision respecting the Jewish impositions, it would not less require a very extraordinary discernment to discover. If the Author deemed it sufficient for his purpose, to find examples of the use of the word *confirm*, he was presuming not a little on the simplicity of his readers, in offering to them this verbal demonstration. But how came he not to observe, that there is no mention in these passages, of the "laying on of hands," which is the essential sign in confirmation; a defect, which, to say nothing of other reasons, renders altogether unfit for his purpose these references to the acts of the Apostles? Here, however, the ingenuity of the Author supplies the defect of his proof passages, by the aid of an additional reference which includes the laying on of hands. "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands": 2 Tim. i. 6. In the former quotations, we have the very word *confirm*; and in this, we have "laying on of hands;" and these together furnish the 'example of persons receiving benefit by ecclesiastical confirmation'! What may we not prove by such a construction as this! But after all, it was very unnecessary for our Expositor to tax his ingenuity with the labour of such frivolous collation, since he admits, that Confirmation is wanting in all the obligations of sacred authority, and has no pretension to any 'higher standard

‘than that of a wholesome human institution.’ The observance, in the primitive Church, of a rite of this description, is not, even from his own shewing, to be received as credible; and in respect to the wholesomeness of it, his testimony is far enough from being conclusive, since he subjoins to his account of its design, the confession, ‘that the manner in which confirmations are attended in the present day, is not in accordance with this view of the subject, and that in many instances the occasion is wholly abused.’

A writer who would wish to give an impartial and full account of the Church of England as by law established, cannot limit his examination of the principles of its constitution to a particular section of its formularies. It is not from the Articles alone, that we can learn the tenets and the practices which distinguish it. But even in respect to the Articles themselves, the terms employed in them are not always sufficiently explicit to enable us to understand the provisions which they are intended to embody. In the thirty-third Article, ‘Of excommunicate persons, how they are to be avoided,’ it is ordered, that the person ‘rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as a heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.’ Here are several particulars in respect to which information will be sought by an inquirer, which the Article itself will not supply. In what cases is the punishment justly incurred, and in what manner, and by whom, is the sentence pronounced, that a person may be ‘rightly cut off’? What explanation is to be given to the words “heathen and publican”? What is the penance prescribed, and who is the Judge that has authority to restore the offender? The present Expositor professes to investigate the subject of the Article; but, on these important particulars, without the understanding of which the whole of the Article is but a tissue of words, he offers no elucidation. The explanation which he has thought to be sufficient, is most imperfect, and, such as it is, can only mislead his readers. Excommunication, in the Established Church, is, according to our Author, only an act of wholesome discipline, depriving the offender of those privileges which belong to the Christian profession. How far the excommunication in question answers to this description, may easily be known, not certainly from the pages before us, but from the laws which have been ordained for the support and government of the Church. These are promulgated against cases which the New Testament never represents as offences; and they are administered by an authority which has no place in the institutions and ordinances prescribed and recognized by it. The Ex-

communication of the Church of England disqualifies a person in his civil capacity, and deprives him of his political rights. It is nothing like the discipline of a Christian community, and is utterly remote and alien from the ordinances which Christ has given to his Churches. Hence arises the impossibility of enforcing the discipline of the Church under a free and constitutional government, and the nullity of these articles of faith, relating to discipline, as articles of law. The time is, perhaps, not far distant, when those parts of the ecclesiastical code and polity which have become obsolete and are sunk into desuetude, will be wisely repealed, and when a temperate revisal of the Articles will lead to a reduction of their number without any detriment to their Scriptural orthodoxy, or Protestant consistency.

Art. VII. *A Letter to the Rev. Henry Phillpotts, D.D., on the Subject of his Two Letters to the Right Hon. George Canning, &c. &c. &c.* By Thomas Gisborne, Jun. 8vo. pp. 160. London, 1827.

THIS pamphlet is more than a year old, but it has lost nothing by keeping, and we are not sorry to be able to draw it forth at this moment. It is the most eloquent political pamphlet, if we mistake not, which has appeared since the day of Burke; and it is not more eloquent than conclusive. We have no acquaintance with the writer—we wonder that he has not made himself as publicly known as his talents would entitle and enable him to become—but we understand that he is the son of a clergyman whom all parties respect for his talents, liberality, and piety, and who may justly be characterized as an ornament to the Established Church. How he has escaped being made a Bishop, we cannot tell,—unless, like Barzillai, he prefers to live among his own people. But to the pamphlet itself. Mr. Gisborne has here struck the shield of the most redoubtable champion of the Anti-Catholic and *ultra*-Protestant party, and made it ‘ring again.’ The Rector of Stanhope, by his malignant attack upon Mr. Canning, has acquired an unenviable prominence in a character ill comporting with his sacred function; but, as a thorough-going political partizan, he has gained a reward which it might have been difficult for him to merit or to secure by taking a different line. The present pamphlet, however, is something much better than a mere exposure of the unfairness, inconsistencies, and false reasoning of that writer, whom Mr. Gisborne humorously styles the ‘cameleon of the Catholic Question.’ It is a masterly review, point by point, of the allegations of danger to Church and State, brought forward by the ene-

mies to concession, testing them by this plain question—‘How will this danger be acted upon by the concession of the claims?’—Who will deny that dangers exist? The question is, what and whence are they, and how are they to be dealt with?

‘At least let us estimate them like men, and, if they are too strong for us, retire before them; but not set up a scream like children, and run away from a bugbear of our own imagining.’

We have neither room nor time to favour our readers, on this occasion, with an Essay upon what is mis-called Catholic Emancipation. We say mis-called, for the only phrase which indicates the true nature of the subject is, Ireland’s Emancipation. It is accidentally a question between Papists and Protestants: it is originally, substantially, and fundamentally, a question between the English and the Irish. It is a national, not a mere ecclesiastical dispute,—as truly so, as that between the Turks and the Greeks. Those who are unacquainted with the history of Ireland, cannot understand the subject,—cannot understand the reason why Ireland *is* Popish, not Protestant; or why Popery in Ireland is more an element of political danger, than it is in Canada or in Hanover. England, it has been quaintly but truly said, swallowed Ireland ages ago, but has never been able to digest her prey. It ought long ago to have formed a part of her, had the natural process of assimilation gone forward. What has prevented it? The disease of misgovernment, Popery was first planted in Ireland by the English sword; it has since been propped up and strengthened by penal laws; has grown up under the shadow of the darkness and ignorance produced by the whole course of our policy, civil and ecclesiastical, towards that ill-treated country; has been endowed with the moral strength of a persecuted faith and with the attractions of a national cause; has thriven upon the impoverishment of the country; and is now something more than a bugbear,—something more than a phenomenon to be wondered at and lamented over: it is a pressing and enormous political evil, pressing heavily upon the national finances, and threatening the disorganization of society. A settlement of the question has become imperiously necessary, not for the sake of the Irish, but for our own sake. We have the power to keep down the Irish; but we can ill afford it. They may be massacred, as the Brunswickers wish; but we should be miserably the losers by the madness and crime to which they would urge our Government.

‘The Catholics’, says Mr. Gisborne, ‘can do better without the claims, than we can do with their turbulence and discontent. Let us look at our present state. There the monster stands before us, still in

daily increasing deformity. The necessity which existed in Mr. Pitt's day, of tranquillizing Ireland and attaching it to this country, exists still, and is become fearfully urgent. Her sons are clamouring about our gates, and are indeed a disgrace to our premises. The Right Rev. Irish Prelate who drew up the state of the question for George III., proposed, six and twenty years ago, that the Catholic claims should be at once "put at end to," "by an explicit declaration that they cannot be complied with." His advice was unhappily taken. The experiment has been tried, and has failed miserably. Is Ireland likely to be tranquillized and attached to this country by repeating it? Let it be tried a hundred successive times; still our statesmen will, in every session of Parliament, have to do with the Catholic question.

But the Duke of Wellington has said,—and the King has consented,—that the question shall be settled, and in the only possible way in which it ever can be disposed of; by blotting out the foul remains of the penal laws from the statute-book,—by the annihilation of political distinctions which, it has been most truly said by an enlightened member of the University of Oxford, are bonds of strength to the proscribed party, and bonds of debility to the Protestant Church. Mr. Gisborne puts very forcibly a question, which answers itself with all the force of demonstration.

‘Will any rational man doubt, that this annually recurring struggle, communicating, as it does in Ireland; to the members of the two churches, feelings of fierce political animosity towards each other, is an almost insuperable impediment to the extension of the Protestant faith?’

For the evils which oppress and desolate Ireland, Catholic Emancipation, it has truly been said, is no adequate remedy: it would be a base delusion, to represent it as such. But it will do this;—it will render those evils *remediable*. It will not restore to health, but it will withdraw a cause of irritation which is keeping up an inflammatory action that renders cure impracticable. If it does not mend the Papists, it will greatly improve the Protestants of Ireland. If it does not operate any change upon Popery, it will tear off from the Protestant faith, a most unlovely disguise, under which it was impossible that any true Irishman could recognize its heavenly claims or beneficent character. Hitherto, the language of our policy has been, Let the Irish turn Protestants, and we will admit them to the privileges of Englishmen. Make them, we say, Englishmen, and they must become Protestants. The man who doubts this, may believe in his Church, but let him not pretend to believe in his Bible. Where is Popery upon the increase? Look throughout Christendom,—cross the Atlantic to the new American States,—and touch at all the old Romish missionary stations in the way home by the Cape, and you will find, that the only land

under heaven,—not excepting Spain and Portugal,—in which Popery is gaining proselytes, and manifesting the vigour of youth in this age of its decrepitude, is—Ireland!

But we trust that the decree has gone forth, from which we shall hereafter have to date the era of Ireland's restoration, if not to her original rank among the nations—for she once took the lead in learning and civilization—to an intellectual equality with Britain, her younger sister. Long has Ireland been the mere park and pleasure-ground of the Church: it must now be enclosed and cultivated for the good of the nation. Hitherto, it has yielded only tithes and rents: it must now be made to grow produce of another kind. 'The history of the world', Mr. Gisborne remarks, 'does not furnish an instance of a country which, being from soil and climate able to breed and feed men, and to keep them in health, and being free from external oppression, has in any age been permanently miserable, except by misgovernment.' If the political evils of Ireland have a religious cause, that cause must be Protestantism, not Popery, for Protestantism is the creed of those who have enjoyed the monopoly of Ireland. Popery has been, in Ireland, the *production* of demoralizing policy; it has increased in an exact *ratio* with the deterioration of the country; and of whatever evils it may be truly described as the cause, it is only a second or third cause, which has itself been caused by that which preceded it. Popery is the offspring of ignorance and spiritual tyranny. What has engendered that ignorance, and strengthened the hands of the Irish priesthood? By whom was the Irish Bible withheld from the Irish? By whom have the Irish peasantry been consigned to their present instructors? By the patrons and incumbents of the wealthiest ecclesiastical establishment in Christendom, in a country where the bulk of the population are in the most wretched poverty!

All this is little understood by the lower classes in this country. How should it be? And yet, noblemen and clergymen, who cannot but know all this,—knowing too how utterly impossible it is that our cobblers, and carpenters, and labourers, and old women should understand a word about the claims of the Irish or the nature of the concessions contemplated, are basely endeavouring to spread a delusive alarm among the lowest of the people, and to enlist the bad passions of the rabble in a seditious outcry. We say deliberately, *seditious*. The reference made to the King's coronation-oath in circulars and placards, imputes to the Sovereign meditated *perjury*. Basely and meanly are noblemen of the haughtiest port stooping to delude and flatter the people with the very language of radicalism. Basely and meanly are clergymen distinguished by their high-church claims and their unsocial hatred of the Dis-

senters, coaxing the sectaries to swell the number of the petitioners. The spectacle is most disgusting; but it will avail nothing. These men *dare not* propose the alternative to concession; nor hint at it to the poor people they are agitating. 'Speak out at once, Sir,' says Mr. Gisborne to his wary opponent,

'speak out like a man, and say, keep them down, keep them down at all hazards. If five millions a year will not do it, spend ten; if twenty thousand bayonets are not enough, send forty thousand. This advice would involve no practical increase of folly, inhumanity, and wickedness; but it would indicate a marvellous advancement in openness and honesty. I am perfectly aware, Sir, that as long as they are kept down, a fine arena is kept open, on which the clever, ambitious clergy of the church of England may force themselves into notoriety. But when I pay my taxes, I have a right to inquire, How much of this is spent in keeping down the Catholics? And you will find, that a yearly increasing number of persons will make this inquiry, and with yearly increased energy and dissatisfaction; and it will be very little consolation to them and to me to hear, that Dr. Dickson is already a dean, and that Dr. Jackson hopes soon to be a bishop. But this is only a part, and a minor part, of our case, as far as mere self-interest is concerned. We shall inquire on what ground, and for what objects, it is, that Ireland is kept permanently on the revolt? why an invitation to intrigue and hostility is thus held out to foreign enemies? why the state of repose, which is absolutely necessary to the deranged finances of England, is thus hazarded. The land-owner who sees his property subjected to an uninsurable risk; the fundholder who knows, that without speaking of the depreciation of his principal, even the payment of his interest would be put in deep jeopardy by war; and still more, every manufacturer and trader, to whom peace and extended commerce are the very breath of his nostrils, will ask these questions; and there will be yearly an increased number of doubters, whether the church establishment of Ireland, aye, and ultimately whether the church establishment of England is worth preserving at such a price. The contest will become yearly more pointed between the advocates for concession and the church: and the respect and attachment of the best, the most liberal, the most independent part of the English nation towards their church establishment, will be gradually weakened.' pp. 108, 9.

We have left ourselves no room to add any further observations; but when the Bill is before the Legislature, we shall be able better to canvass both the danger and the provisions to be made against it. In the mean time, we strongly recommend this able pamphlet to the attention of our readers.

NOTICES.

Art. VIII. *The Interpositions of Divine Providence*: selected exclusively from the Holy Scriptures. By Joseph Fincher, Esq., Author of "The Achievements of Prayer." 12mo. pp. 380. Price 6s. London. 1829.

THE design of this volume will best be explained in the Compiler's own words. While prosecuting the selection of materials for his former publication, to which this may be regarded as a companion or sequel, he was struck with the fact, that 'the prayers of a numerous company of the holy and honourable of the Lord, had not been recorded'; and he was led to perceive, that some of the most remarkable displays of Divine Providence have occurred in cases in which prayer, though implied, is not expressly mentioned. As the selection of Scripture facts in "The Achievements of Prayer", had for its design, to concentrate the evidence scattered over the inspired volume, of the regular connexion between "fervent effectual prayer" and the Divine answer; so, in the present compilation, the same simple mode is adopted of bringing out, as it were, into broad prominence, the holy and consolatory doctrine of the special Providence of God as presiding over his people, and of accumulating the historic proof of the general fact. The contents are arranged under the following heads. Interpositions of Divine Providence in seasons of great extremity and affliction. Memorials and Thanksgivings in commemoration of Providential Interpositions. Remarkable Manifestations of Divine Favour. Manifestations of the Divine Presence. Personal Manifestations of our Lord after his Resurrection. Interpositions in the Call and Conversion of Individuals. In the bestowment of Temporal Blessings. Instances of Remarkable Preservation and Deliverance. Interpositions in rewarding the Kindness done to the Lord's people. In requiting the Evils done against them. In restraining the Wrath of Men. In convicting of Sin—withholding from Sin—punishing Sin. In the restoration of the Jews from Captivity. On Various Occasions. The Compiler has restrained himself from all note or comment, except in the form of an Introduction, from which we must select the following judicious remarks upon the critical and seasonable period at which the interpositions of Divine Providence have usually taken place.

'It is particularly deserving of our most careful observation, that the time selected by the Lord for the brightest manifestations of his interposing mercy, is invariably when the prospect is most dreary, when hopes are lowest, when there appears no way of escape from the threatening danger, when events are the most perplexing and discouraging, and when foreboding and anxious fears fill the mind with terror and dismay. Yet, even under such a combination of peculiarly trying circumstances, the Christian is the only individual who can brave the threatening danger, and behind a frowning Providence discern a smiling face.

‘ Though he perceives the storm gathering thickly around him, though he sees no rainbow painted on the cloud, yet he inwardly beholds the token of a better covenant,—he sees reflected on his soul the image of his Saviour’s love. It was not till the hand of Abraham had raised the knife, that the interposing voice from heaven was heard. It was not till the sun had retired from the view of the anxious and solitary Jacob, that the mysteries of Divine Providence, and the assurance of the Lord’s protecting care, were so signally manifested to him. It was not till the moment of Jacob’s greatest sorrow, that the resentment of Esau was changed into brotherly affection, when “ he ran to meet him, embraced him, and fell on his neck.” It was not until Joseph had been cast into the pit, that the interposing hand of his God appeared in his deliverance. It was in the hour of Judah’s dark experience, when guilty fear had awakened his deepest sorrow, it was then, while pleading with inimitable tenderness for his brother Benjamin, that Joseph could no longer conceal the strong emotions of a brother’s love.

‘ It was at the moment when it is pathetically said, “ Behold the Babe wept ”, that the compassion of Pharaoh’s daughter was drawn towards the infant Moses. It was in Israel’s great extremity, when the Egyptians were closely pursuing them, when they were greatly afraid, it was then, in answer to their cry, that they were commanded not to fear; but to stand still and see the Salvation of the Lord. It was then the sea became dry land to them, and the mighty waters a wall on their right hand and on their left.

‘ It was in David’s great extremity, when encompassed by his enemies, when “ there was not a step between him and death ”, that the Lord heard the voice of his supplication, and wonderfully delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and from all those who were waiting to destroy him.

‘ It is not till the Sons of the poor Widow are about to be torn from her to be sold for bondmen, that the oil is miraculously increased. It is not till Jeremiah is beginning to sink in the loathsome dungeon, that the friendly aid of Ebed-Melech is put forth to rescue him. It is not till the fourth watch of the night, that the Saviour appears to his affrighted disciples. It is not till Peter feels himself sinking, that the hand of Jesus is stretched out to save him.

‘ The few instances which have been selected out of the numerous “ Interpositions of Divine Providence in seasons of great extremity and affliction ”, are sufficient, it is hoped, to establish this truly consolatory and encouraging doctrine, which is so often confirmed in the experience of the real Christian, that “ man’s extremity is God’s opportunity ”, and that the Lord selects for the brightest displays of his most astonishing acts of Interposing Mercy, the time when we least expect, but most require his aid.” pp. x—xiii.

One important purpose which this and the companion volume seem adapted to answer, is that of illustrating the *art of reading the Scriptures* as a spiritual exercise, and the practical use of the Scripture records. Many of the Psalms appear to have been composed for the express object of inculcating the doctrine of the Divine Providence.

This is especially the burden of that exquisite poem, the cviiith Psalm, in which the interposition of the Divine power and mercy, under various circumstances, are so elegantly described, and the exhortation to praise the Lord for his goodness is brought in, after each lyric recital, apparently as a chorus. The closing verse might have furnished a final motto to the present volume: "Whoso is wise and will observe these things: even they shall understand the loving-kindness of the Lord."

Art. IX. *Memoirs of the Rev. John Townsend, Founder of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Congregational School.* 8vo. pp. 294. Portrait. Price 9s. London. 1828.

If the interest of biography always bore a proportion to the solid worth and distinguished usefulness of the individual subject of the record, this volume would possess attraction of no ordinary kind. Mr. Townsend was one of the most active, the most zealous, and the most useful ministers of his day. He has been styled 'the apostle of charity', and no man better sustained the character of a Christian philanthropist. Besides originating the two Institutions referred to in the title-page, which will be monuments of his persevering benevolence to future generations, more lasting, as well as more honourable, than brass or marble,—he was an active member of almost every society embracing the religious, moral, or physical melioration of society. He was one of the first co-operators in the formation of the London Missionary Society; an early and active member of the committee of the Religious Tract Society; an honorary life-member of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and one of the oldest members of that Institution; a zealous advocate and supporter, from its commencement, of the London Hibernian Society, as well as of the Irish Evangelical Society, and various other Institutions. We recollect hearing him once say, that it had cost him 40*l.*, within the year, to attend different public meetings. Yet, his prudence was not less remarkable and exemplary than his zeal and public spirit, and his attention to his pastoral and private duties kept pace with his more public exertions.

It has been asserted in private,—charges have been delivered from the pulpit,—accusing those who are active and zealous in aiding the general and universal interests of religion, of neglecting their studies, not fulfilling their pastoral duties, forgetting their sick and afflicted, with many similar aspersions from the less ardent and less zealous servants of the same Master. But the writer of this memoir can affirm, that, as a pastor, Mr. Townsend was exemplary. His church had been organised by himself, on the form he believed most scriptural,—that of Congregational Dissent; and the firmness of his character secured to him that peace, which so many pastors in the same denomination never find.

He always urged on his people the necessity of prayer, with the utility and duty of attending meetings for this devotional exercise. Whatever his other engagements might be, this part of divine worship

was neither forgotten nor neglected, and was, perhaps, never performed with more touching solemnity, and more deep humility, than by our excellent friend.

The privilege of coming to the sacrament was constantly exhibited in his sermons: he encouraged the timid, and pointed out the obligations they were under, to obey the dying injunction of their Redeemer. His conviction of the sin that attends those who live in the neglect of this ordinance, induced him to publish a tract "On the great neglect of the Lord's Supper."

When the members of his church were ill, he was ever ready with his sympathy and his prayers, though, in this part of his pastoral obligation, he found an occasion for greater self-denial than in some others. Still, he esteemed it so primary a duty, that no committee was allowed to interfere with it. He frequently went, when sinking under extreme debility, to visit such claimants, who were resident some miles distant. His affectionate disposition, united with much judgement, eminently qualified him for visits to the house of mourning: his consolations were soothing, his conversation instructive. To the aged and the young he was alike acceptable.

He was ever anxious to know the wants and necessities of his people; but his visits to the tables of his congregation were rare, as they did not enter into the list of what he considered pastoral duties. An unexpected summons to a committee, or to preach a charity sermon, would make him relinquish the most agreeable social interview; and a biscuit and draught of cold water, taken in London, were frequently substituted for the well-spread board, at which he would have been a welcome guest.

The schools attached to the chapel received a large share of his attention: he found time, not merely to catechise the children, but to exhort and warn them of sins incidental to their age and circumstances.

His distribution of tracts was very extensive: he never left home without a supply, and he embraced every opportunity of sending them abroad. An agent was constantly employed by him to convey these useful little messengers of mercy to prisons, hospitals, and work-houses.

In his domestic character, Mr. Townsend was constitutionally amiable; an affectionate husband and parent; in his filial and fraternal relations, exemplary; and to crown the whole, a man of unaffected humility and devout habits. Prayer was the element of his strength; love to his Saviour was the mainspring of his usefulness; and he both felt and acknowledged that, towards God, though not towards man, he was an unprofitable servant. We believe no man who knew him, will dispute the accurate fidelity of this portrait.

The memoir before us is 'humble in its pretensions, like the subject' of it; having for its especial object, 'to excite young ministers to the same patient industry, indefatigable zeal, and honourable emulation which marked his career.' We earnestly hope that this design may be realized; and at all events, to the private Christian, particularly to all who knew John Townsend, the volume forms an interesting and instructive memorial. The portrait prefixed is an excellent likeness.

Art. X. *The Spirit and Manners of the Age: a Christian and Literary Miscellany.* January, 1829. 8vo. pp. 80. Price 1s. 6d.

THIS is really a very spirited and mannerly specimen of the literature of the age, and if kept up with the same talent that is displayed in this Number, will both deserve and ensure an extensive popularity. Among the Contributors whose names appear in these pages are, the Rev. Dr. Walsh, Dr. Uwins, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Opie, the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, Mr. and Mrs. Howitt, Miss A. M. Porter, Mr. S. C. Hall, Mrs. Hall, Mr. Edmeston, and the Author of "My Early Days". Letters, poetry, essays historical and medical, prose sketches, and reviews, make up this pleasing olio. In short, it is a *Literary annual* which flowers once a month, and bears fruit while in blossom. We commend it to reading societies in general, as a very fair combination of the *utile cum dulci*.

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

We shall probably receive the thanks of those of our readers who may be book-collectors, as well as of the Directors of our Academic Institutions, and students in general, by directing their attention to a Catalogue, of which the First Part has been just issued, (extending to about 400 pages,) by a Bristol bookseller. It appears that Mr. Strong has recently purchased an immense and valuable Collection of Old Books, made by Dyer, the Exeter Bookseller, and his father before him, who were vigilant and assiduous in bringing together all the publications of any account that appeared on most of the remarkable occasions of ecclesiastical, theological, and literary controversy. There are many of the English works produced in the great warfare between the Romish Church and the Protestants; works on all parts of the controversy between the English Established Church and the Puritans, and somewhat later Non-Conformists; nearly all the works of any note, temporary or permanent, which appeared in the great dispute on the truth of Christianity, during the earlier part of the last century; a great variety of those on the more special questions of theology and orthodoxy, especially the Arian, agitated in that age; very large collections of those which were occasioned by Middleton's book on the miraculous powers, and the integrity of the ancient fathers; of those produced in the great literary hostility excited by Warburton; and of those which appeared in the dispute on the subject of the demoniacs. There are collections of nearly all the pieces, larger and smaller, of a

number of the distinguished literary, philosophical, and ecclesiastical polemics of that former age, whose works were never printed in collective editions. The first volume is confined, with small exception, to English literature. The next will comprise a great assemblage of foreign theological authors, and the Christian fathers.—Private collectors, and the persons who have the charge of supplying the deficiencies of libraries for more public use, will rarely have such an opportunity as is afforded by this ample collection, so peculiarly full in some of the departments.

In a few weeks will appear, the First Monthly Number of a Work, to be entitled "The Gardens and Menagerie of the Zoological Society delineated; being Descriptions and Figures in illustration of the Natural History of the Living Animals in the Society's collection." To be published, with the authority of the Council, under the superintendence of the Secretary and Vice-Secretary of the Society. The numerous Engravings will be executed by Branston and Wright, from Drawings by Harvey. Specimens will be ready for delivery in a few days.

In the Press, and will shortly be published, a Collection of Hymns, from Dr. Watts and other Authors, adapted for Congregational Worship. By W. Urwick, Minister of York Street Chapel, Dublin.

A Volume of Tales, under the title of "Sketches of Irish Character," from the pen of Mrs. S. C. Hall, the Editor of the *Juvenile Forget me Not*, is announced for publication in April.

In the Press, *Recognition in the World to Come, or Christian Friendship on Earth, perpetuated and perfected in Heaven.* By C. R. Muston, A.M.

Miss M. A. Browne, the Author of *Mont Blanc, Ada, &c. &c.*, is about to publish a small volume of Sacred Poetry. Dedicated to the Rev. H. H. Milman, Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford.

Shortly will be Published, *The History of the Huguenots during the Sixteenth Century.* By W. S. Browning, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.—The Work will contain a concise Narrative of the Sufferings of the French Protestants during the Sixteenth Century; and will shew, that the Massacre of the St. Bartholomew was premeditated, and that the cruelties exercised towards the Protestants was instigated by the Court of Rome.

In the Press, the first Volume of the Vestry Library, commencing with the *Contemplations of Bishop Hall*; which, with the Select Works of Baxter and of other eminent Authors, in succession, will be published in handsome duodecimo Volumes every Two Months. Edited by the Rev. T. Russell, A.M.

In the Press, *A Memento for the Afflicted.* By Barzillai Quaife.

In the Press, and speedily will be published, in 1 Vol. 12mo., The Protestant's Companion, being a choice Collection of Preservatives against Popery.

Captain Basil Hall's Travels in the United States, is in the Press, and may be expected about May.

In the Press, Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America, including the United States, Canada, the Shores of the Polar Sea, and the Voyages in Search of a North-West Passage; with Observations on Emigration. By Hugh Murray, Esq. F.R.S.E., &c.; Author of Travels in Africa, Asia, &c. 2 Vols. 8vo.

We understand, that the Rev. Dr. Wait (of Cambridge) is about to commence a Repertorium Theologicum, or Critical Record of Theological Literature; in which, Dissertations on Theological Antiquities, the State of the Text, and other subjects of necessary inquiry, will be contained; in which, also, Foreign Works on Divinity will be condensed, so as to form a complete Work of Reference to the Biblical Scholar.

Mr. Carpenter, Author of the Scientia Biblica, &c., has in the Press, in one large Volume, 8vo., Popular Lectures on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation.

Mr. W. Jones, Author of the History of the Waldenses, &c., has in the Press, A Christian Biographical Dictionary, comprising the Lives of such Persons in every Country and in every Age since the revival of Literature, as have distinguished themselves by their Talents, their Sufferings, or their Virtues. The Work may be expected to appear in the course of next Month.

Messrs. Howell and Co. have just issued a very curious Catalogue, which is likely to excite, at the present moment, peculiar interest. It comprises a Collection of between three and four thousand Works upon Roman Catholic Theology and Controversy, including Missals, Acts of Canonization, &c., and Polemic Works on both sides. Altogether, it is certainly the most extraordinary Collection of the kind ever brought before the Public.

Washington Irving has in the Press, a new work, entitled, "Tales of the Moors;" which, it is said, will embody a History of the Rise, Glory, and Downfall of the Moors in Spain, chiefly composed out of Materials collected by Mr. Irving during his recent residence at Seville.

In the Press, the first Volume of the Yearly Library, commencing with the Catalogue of the Year 1841, which with the Series of Works of the same name, will be published in handsome bound Volumes every 10 Months. Edited by the Rev. T. Russell, A.M.

In the Press, A Memoir for the Afflicted. By Barzilla Quail.

ART. XII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

A Memoir of the late Rev. William Goode, M.A. Rector of the United Parishes of St. Andrew's Wardrobe and St. Ann's Blackfriars. By the Rev. William Goode, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. 8vo. 9s.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Scriptorum Veterorum nova Collectio, & Vaticanis Codicibus. Edita ab Angelo Maio, Bibliothecario Vaticanæ. Præfector. Tomus III. 4to.

Classicum Auctorum & Vaticanis Codicibus editum Tomus I., complectens Ciceronis de Republicâ quæ supersunt, Gurgillii Martialis de Arboribus Pomiferis, Sallustii Historiarum, et Archimædi Fragmenta: cum quinque tabulis æneis. Curante A. Maio, Bib. Vat. Præf. 8vo. Tom. I. et II.

Greek Extracts, chiefly from the Attic Writers; with a Vocabulary. For the Use of the Edinburgh Academy. 12mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

HISTORY.

A History of England, from the First Invasion of the Romans, &c. By J. Lingard, D.D. Vol. VII. 4to. 14. 15s.

Ecclesiastical Annals, from the Commencement of Scripture History to the Epoch of the Reformation. By Frederick Spanheim, D.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Translated and illustrated with Notes, by the Rev. George Wright. 8vo. 11s.

An Historical Essay on the Laws and the Government of Rome, designed as an Introduction to the Study of the Civil Law. 8vo. 11s. 6d.

The History of the Church of England. By J. H. S. Carwithen, D.D. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, &c. Part I., to the Restoration in 1660. 2 vols. 8vo. 17. 6s.

Memoirs of the War in Spain. By Marshal Suchet, Duke D'Albufera. 2 vols. 8vo. 17. 1s.

History of Russia and of Peter the Great. By General Count Philip de Segur. 8vo.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Portrait of a Christian Gentleman. By a Barrister. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

The Magazine of Natural History and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, and Geology. Conducted by J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. &c. &c. Vol. I. 8vo. 18s.

POETRY.

Lays of Leisure Hours. By Maria Jane Jewsbury. 12mo. 5s.

The Opening of the Sixth Seal. A Sacred Poem. Second Edition. 5s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Sermons preached in England. By the late Right Rev. Reginald Heber, D.D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Testimonies in Proof of the separate Existence of the Soul in a state of Self-consciousness between Death and the Resurrection. Accedit Johannis Calvini Psychopannychia. By the Rev. Thomas Huntingford, M.A. Vicar of Kempford. 8vo. 16s. 6d.

Heaven Opened, or the Word of God: being the Twelve Visions of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, and St. John, explained. By Alfred Addis, B.A. 8vo. 12s.

Sermons, Lectures, and occasional Discourses. By the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A. Minister of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square. 3 vols. 8vo. 17. 11s. 6d.

Farewell Discourses: being the last six Sermons delivered at Percy Chapel, St. Pancras, previously to the shutting-up of the Chapel, and the consequent Dispersion of the Congregation, in October 1828. By the Rev. James Haldane Stewart, M.A. Minister of Percy Chapel, &c. 8vo. 5s.

A Funeral Sermon for the late Richard Lee, Esq. Preached at Beckenham. By A. Brandram, A.M. Minister of St. John the Baptist, in the Savoy Precinct. 8vo. 1s. 6d.